THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

April 2, 1949

SELF HELP

AN EDITORIAL

Journey To Red Shantung

Hugh Deane

Banditry In Kwangtung

Hsu Chien

Christian Missions In China

A Chinese Christian

PACIFIC PACT

AN EDITORIAL

VOLUME 113 GY2,500 NUMBER 5

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Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

Post Office Answers

To The Editor:

With reference to the letter from Mr. S.F. Wei published in your esteemed journal of the 12th instant under the caption "Hongkong Postage", complaining of the exorbitant rate of postage for printed matter for Hongkong, I have to inform you that the rates of postage for Hongkong and Macao are based upon the Postal Agreements between China and Hongkong and China and Macao, which provide that, with the exception of letters and postcards which are charged the domestic rates of postage, all other categories of mail matter, special fees, etc. should be charged according to the Union tariff of postage. As newspapers, magazines and other printed matter do not fall under the categories of letters and postcards, the International rates of postage apply in accordance with the provisions of the above-cited Agreement. It is, therefore, obvious that, under the restrictions of the said Agreement, no unilateral action can be taken towards the modification of any of its stipulations.

WANG YU-KUANG
Director of Posts

Shanghai
March 28, 1949

Fukien Defended

To The Editor:

In his article, "How Safe and Sound is Fukien," which appeared in the March 12th issue of the *Review*, Mr. Lin has shown an extensive knowledge about my native province and his criticism is well-founded. But in his eagerness to point out the weak points of the province, he has totally neglected the human factor, without which the world would be a place of desolation.

While it is true that Fukien has never played an important part in any of the wars, this was equally true of Kwangtung province before the Republic of China was established. That the last emperor of the Sung dynasty preferred Kwangtung does not prove that this province was safer than Fukien. As a matter of fact, the dynasty had removed its capital southward many times before coming to Kwangtung, and sought a place of refuge rather than an advantageous position from which to launch an offensive.

During the recent Sino-Japanese war, the Japanese not only seized Amoy but fortified the island and stayed there for the duration of the war. Fukien's mountainous terrain and unproductiveness was not a factor that kept the Japanese from invading that province. Since they could strike at the Central Government with comparative ease from any point other than Fukien, it would have been foolish to operate out of a province where they were bound to encounter more difficulties.

However, no place is worth much without the human factor. Look at the state of Utah in America, popularly called "The Great American Desert," with its arid lands ravaged by disease, mosquitoes and grasshoppers. In spite of its moun-

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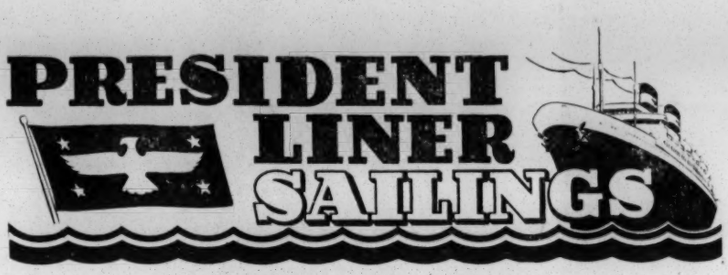

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The Shanghai Evening Post & Mercury

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tainous regions and soil too poor to yield any crop, it now thrives and prospers through proper cultivation. And Japan, with few natural resources, and soil saturated with volcanic ash, came to be one of the great powers of the world. Formosa, a wilderness, was built up to a rich productive island which contributed greatly to the support of Japan before the war, and Hongkong, now called the Gibraltar of the East, has been developed into one of the greatest port cities of the world. All this was not conjured up over night, but was accomplished by great human effort.

Many things have been possible despite poor natural resources and few advantages: Sun Yat-sen's revolution was cradled in Kwangtung where there was little to work with; the great dynasty of Ch'ing was founded in Shensi, certainly not one of the richest provinces in China; and the Communists have been fighting superior odds under adverse conditions for more than 30 years, and have surmounted great difficulties. If all this is possible, why can't the Kuomintang, with US aid behind them, do as well? I am not a pro-party man, but I do think the Kuomintang has a very good chance to win back if they work hard. They certainly have better conditions now than their antagonists did four years ago. I agree that Fukien is not a Normandy, and in the event of war between Russia and America, the latter would surely use Korea rather than Fukien, and Japan rather than Formosa. But the article was not discussing such a war, and in the meantime the two provinces of Fukien and Kwangtung have much to offer the Kuomintang. If they fail, it is the fault of their leaders, mismanagement, despotic policy. It all depends on how they exert themselves.

H. C. HUANG.

Shanghai
March 24, 1949

Magazine Ban

To The Editor:

I was greatly shocked by the fact that a number of Shanghai publications which spoke the people's view and had a great many readers have been forced to discontinue publication by the newly established "cultural control authority" of the Nanking-Shanghai-Hangchow Garrison Headquarters.

According to press reports, such magazines as *World Culture*, *The Revelation*, *The Modern Woman*, *Outlook*, *The University Review*, and *The Middle School Times* were banned because they are considered to be against the martial law. But these magazines, it should be pointed out, are legal and have been duly licensed by the Government authorities.

These magazines have played a leading role in the present culture of China. They have suffered from economic hardships and political pressure and their closure at this time is hard to understand. It's clear that political pressure on the cultural organs is heavier than ever before, and it is rumored that press censorship may be re-introduced.

This is what is behind the "honorable peace" about which there is so much talk.

JOSEPH K. YANG.

Shanghai
March 25, 1949

Spanish Loan

To The Editor:

To round out the sad picture drawn by your editorial "US Loan For Spain" in the March 19th issue of the *Review*, the following is quoted from the European edition of the *New York Herald Tribune* of February 12th:

"The Spanish press has published the news of the $25,000,000 Chase Bank loan without comment.

"Although financial circles were pleased at the transaction, privately, however, they were disappointed that it was necessary to mortgage Spain's gold reserves.

"It was hoped the Chase deal will serve 'to break the ice' toward granting Spain an official American loan really big enough to revive the country's heavy industry, agriculture, and transportation which, as interpreted here, is a dire necessity not only for Spain but also for the general rehabilitation program in western Europe.

"(A spokesman for the Chase Bank said the loan had been granted after consultation with and approval by the US State Department.)"

I am quite taken aback by the views expressed by you in connection with this unholy project. You risk prosecution by the Un-American Activities Committee and the horrible threat never to be admitted to occupied Japan and Germany in case you finally realize that all "really" bad Fascists have reformed, and that the safest place in the face of the Red Menace is the US zone of Germany, Japan, and Spain in that order.

I just came back from there. Nazism was a good idea badly carried out.

"ADOLF"

Shanghai
March 21, 1949

New TB Drug

To The Editor:

The seriousness of the tuberculosis problem may be seen by figures compiled in 1946 by the United Nations Health Investigation Office, which estimated that some 300 out of every 100,000 persons die from this disease each year. If this estimate is accurate, at least 1,500,000 persons in China die from TB yearly.

The Svenska Lacartidin Magazine 43, 2029-41, 1946, reported that a physician in the Sahlgrenska Hotal in Sweden named Dr. Jorgen Lehmann had utilized a para-amino-salicylic-acid preparation to treat tuberculosis and had achieved very effective results.

I was therefore very glad to learn from an advertisement in the Chinese papers that the Grena Chemical Works, a Chinese medical factory, may be able to make a P.A.S. solution prepared by Professor Wong-Shao-ting, since its price will be much cheaper than that imported from abroad.

Since the demand for P.A.S. is so great and I earnestly hope that our own medical factory can increase the production of P.A.S.

FLYING DRAGON CHAO

Shanghai
March 28, 1949

New Education

To The Editor:

A schoolmate of mine has just come down from the liberated areas to see his mother. He told me the following about secondary education under the New Democracy:

At an educational conference held last winter by the authorities of the Northeast and North China areas, middle school policy was discussed and certain principles laid down.

The greatest difference between education here and in the liberated areas is that students there must work to earn their living. For example, there are three producing groups which have been organized by the students' self-governing association at North Honan Middle School. When school is over, these groups go to help the farmers and do whatever work is necessary. Although they spend half of each day on such labor, their records do not seem to be any worse than those of students in KMT-controlled areas.

Textbooks in some courses such as politics, history and the national language are being revised, but the others are not changed.

School affairs are decided by the School Affairs Ruling Committee which consists of six teachers and one or two students. This body has the highest authority in the school.

I have described these methods with the idea that they might possibly be applied to middle schools here as a progressive reform.

C. Y. S.

Soochow
March 25, 1949

So-called Reforms

To The Editor:

What has happened to the reforms issued by Acting President Li Tsung-jen? One of them provides for the abolition of special criminal courts. These courts have been abolished, all right, but in their place has been established military courts with the privilege of executing people "on the spot." The summary executions of 21 persons in Kunming and three bus workers in Shanghai illustrate how these courts work.

A second reform was the lifting of restrictions on newspapers and magazines. However, the banning and confiscation of newspapers and magazines has been renewed in Shanghai. Thousands of copies of "inside story" maga-

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zines" were confiscated by the police and garrison authorities on March 17. These magazines contained a number of articles that were pro-Communist or critical of the Government, and many of them may not have been based on fact. However, their wide circulation is an indication of the frame of mind of the general public,-and the policy of banning or confiscating them is an ill-advised one which has not worked in the past.

Despite the promised cession of activities of KMT secret agents, the disappearance of people is on the march again. It is rumored that a delegate of a shipping company in Shanghai was arrested soon after his return from Peiping, where he had contacted Communist leaders.

These developments, together with many other oppressive measures, go to show that the diehards and reactionaries are not willing to have any house-cleaning preparatory to peace talks with the Communists. They have never wanted peace; they want a hushed silence under threat of imprisonment, torture and death.

D. C. FREEMAN.

Shanghai
March 23, 1949

Chungking Bombing

To The Editor:

I don't know what the B-24 bombardiers could have been thinking about when they bombed the Chungking. I should like to ask them whether they thought it was for the good of the nation. China cannot make any warships and it is hard to say when this loss to our country can be made up. I believe that the bombardiers were disloyal to their country although they might be said to have been loyal to the KMT.

I am sure that the Chinese Civil War is not likely to be won by aviators or the navy or by foreign loans. Only a Government which is championed by the people can win, and the action of the KMT in bombing warships of its own country will surely decrease its champions.

It is interesting to note that the Chinese airmen rode on American planes to bomb a British warship. It is now reported that two more warships presented to us by America are to be anchored at Kaohsiung in a few days. Whether or not these two ships will repeat the tragedy of the Chungking no one knows.

S. T. G.

Taipeh, Taiwan
March 22, 1949

Wants Subscription

To The Editor:

It is really hard to obtain real news and just views from the newspapers and magazines of this country. Although there are many Chinese newspapers and magazines, every one of them is inclined either to the right or the left.

We would like to read your *Review* frequently but can't afford the price to buy it. Could you send us a free subscritption for two months before we finish our school life? We are very much obliged.

HSI TANG YING
SI CHING CHAU

Chung Ching Technical School
Wusih
March 16, 1949

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Any Old Copies?

To The Editor:

I have been your reader for only half a year and have grown so fond of it I hope I can read the *Review* always. But now my finances have failed and I am obliged to bid you farewell.

China, as well as the world, is now facing a fearful storm and the grey clouds gather in every corner. We common people know not when the storm will come or in what way, and can only follow events through the newspapers and magazines. I think your *Review* is the very one to help us during this stormy period of time.

I often have read that some of your readers get free copies through the contributions of other readers, and that old copies are sent to needy readers. Now, since I am in distress, I can only wish luck might fall upon me.

D. J. CHOW

Nanting, Kiangsu
March 20, 1949

(The REVIEW'S free subscription kitty is empty too. If any readers care to contribute to this fund or send their old copies to us, we will be happy to pass them on to needy readers—Editor.)

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Missing Persons

To The Editor:

In spite of Acting President Li Tsung-jen's directive against illegal arrests, four persons are missing here: Two teachers, a student of the Shanghai College of Law, and an employee of the District Government.

Mr. Li Tze-cheng, head of discipline of the Provincial Chuchow Normal School, was visited by plain clothesmen who said several students of the Normal School had been taken to Garrison Headquarters because they had quarreled with somebody in a theater. They requested that he go with them to see these students. He wanted to call the roll first, but they would not permit him to do so. When he had not returned by the next morning, the principal of the school went to the Garrison Headquarters and was told they knew nothing of Mr. Li's whereabouts.

Mr. Wang Do-hsiang, a history teacher at the Provincial Chuchow Middle School, was chatting at home with his wife and a younger sister when plain clothesmen entered the house under the pretext of checking the census. They pointed to his younger sister and asked who she was. Mr. Wang explained and said she was studying at the Yu-Nong Middle School where she was to return the next day. The plain clothesmen would not accept this explanation and took him away with them.

The student, Mr. Chen Nan-hsiang, also was taken away by plain clothesmen acting as census takers, who charged him with housing persons without registering them with the census authorities. His elder brother wanted to go instead but was not permitted. He followed Mr. Chen to the Garrison Headquarters but was refused entrance. Later he was told his brother was not there.

Mr. Kao, the Government employee, also was taken away from his house when someone asked him to go out to talk over some affairs. He has not been seen since.

Chuchow, Chekiang L. C. C.
March 18, 1949

"Wet Firewood"

To The Editor:

Present indications are that the Gold Yuan has got out of control. At very short intervals, GY notes of $5, $20, and $50 denomination have passed out of circulation. And yesterday, barely a fortnight after GY $50 notes were pooh-poohed as "wet firewood", GY $100 notes were being widely rejected in everyday business transactions here in this town of Dan Shui Hon, Hoiping. The local bankers and merchants are hurriedly shipping huge amounts of these unwanted notes to Kongmoon or Canton, where they are said to be still accepted, to be dumped on the markets there.

From my observations I find that small notes first were refused in the countryside, the rejection spreading to the larger places. This state of affairs implies that the people in far-flung places have become extremely nervous about possession of GY notes and have learned from experience that they can turn into waste paper over night.

Also it is interesting to note that even before the $1,000 notes are brought in here, the $100 notes are being rejected, and the only ones usable are the $500 notes. It looks here as if the peoples' rejection of the GY may move faster than the Government can issue new notes.

JOHN HSU.

Hoiping, Kwangtung
March 20, 1949

Thank You!

To The Editor:

We are proud to tell you that your esteemed *Review* is made accessible at our University; both the University library and the Students' Center of the Christian Fellowship have subscribed to it.

It has been our wish that hereafter more people will have a chance to know the *Review*, so that its recognized value may be known in even wider circles.

LOO SHIH-CHENG.

The National Chekiang University
Hangchow, Chekiang
March 18, 1949

Yenchow Bandits

To The Editor:

Recently many bandit outrages have occurred in this city of Yenchow, and in the surrounding countryside. They have entered the houses and robbed the people of their rice, money and gold. Many very rich men have received anonymous letters from the bandits demanding more gold and rice. Many of these men have paid so the bandits would not kill them and burn their houses.

This situation is a disgrace to the whole nation. The provincial authorities of Chekiang and the troops stationed in this area should be held responsible for these incidents.

The bandits are neither Nationalists nor Communists. We are told by newspapers that the bandits are mostly soldiers who have been paid off, and that the more soldiers we pay off, the more bandits will be let loose.

JO SAN-CHEN.

Yenchow, Chekiang
March 19, 1949

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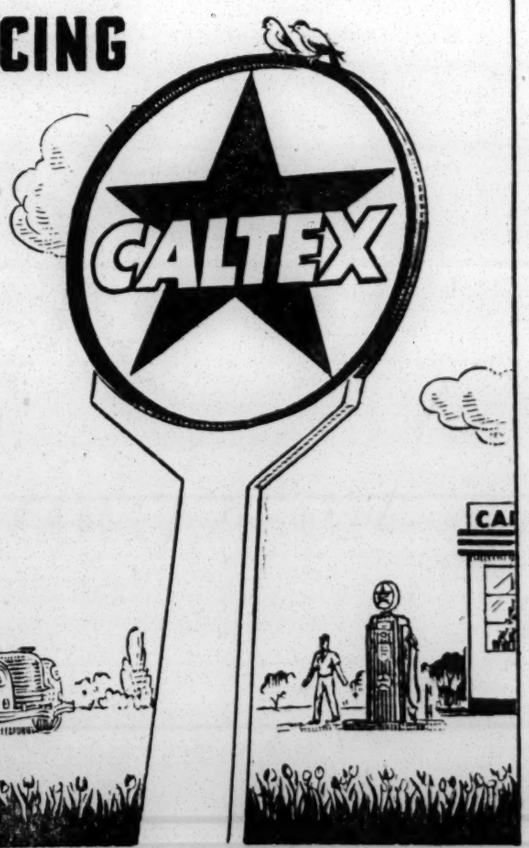

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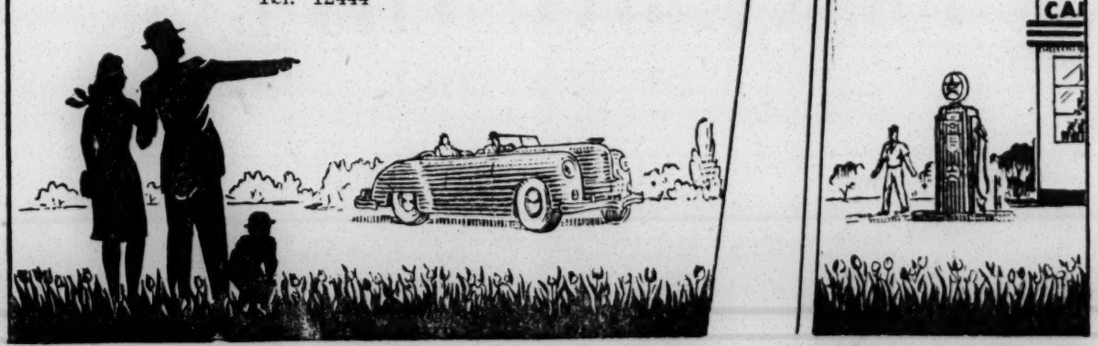


THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established in 1917

The editorial pages present each week the opinions of the editor. The other pages of The China Weekly Review are written by the other members of the staff and the contributing editors who report and interpret the news irrespective of the views expressed in the editorials.

Vol. 113 Shanghai, Saturday, April 2, 1949 No. 5

Pacific Pact

THE official announcement of the Atlantic Pact was the signal for an all-out campaign by various interested parties to persuade the non-communist powers with interests in Asia to unite in a Pacific version of the Atlantic defense plan. We don't like the Atlantic Pact, but we'd like a Pacific Pact even less. While the Atlantic Pact is the latest in a series of moves designed to torpedo the United Nations, it at least has the blessings of governments put in office by fully sovereign countries, regardless of how naive or unenlightened their respective electorates may be. The most vociferous appeals for a Pacific Pact, however, come from the capitals of European colonial powers who are afraid that they are about to lose something to which they have no legitimate rights.

The campaign to induce Uncle Sam to pull a few colonial chestnuts out of the fire began a long time ago and has been increasing in intensity in almost direct ratio to the advance of the Chinese Communists from the north. In the February 5 issue of the Review we warned that European powers with colonial holdings in Asia, aided and abetted by individuals and organizations in America and other non-colonial countries, were plotting a means whereby America's money and materials could be sucked into a Pacific plot to preserve colonialism. At that time we said: "The trap, laid snugly in the various colonies, is being artfully baited with the red flag bearing the hammer and sickle and the European colonialists are waiting behind the bushes for the American bull, who seems to go completely berserk at the sight of anything red, to charge in and solve the crisis."

In the few weeks that have passed since then, the campaign has reached a new tempo. Almost every day the newspapers are full of scare headlines over stories—largely undocumented—telling how the Chinese Reds are plotting revolution and anarchy throughout Asia. The pressure has become so strong that the few independent countries that exist in Asia today have begun red witch hunts of their own, imprisoning in some cases thousands of their own citizens. It almost seems that all of non-communist Asia has worked itself into a frenzy in an effort to impress Uncle Money Bags that it, too, is against communism and thereby is deserving of a handout of US dollars.

A most unholy trinity composed of European colonialists, misguided and/or corruption ridden native governments, and American vested interests are working night and day to involve the United States in a most foolish adventure in Asia. Whether they will succeed in their plot remains to be seen. Meanwhile it is well to be advised of their doings.

The most prominent position in this campaign is held by France, a country whose bankrupt colonial policy in Asia is apparent to all. For about three years the French have been trying to impose their repressive rule on Indo-China. Today, the French are on the brink of being thrown out of Indo-China by the Vietnam resistance movement. With a Communist China in the offing, a Vietnam victory is assured. France's only chance now is for America to save her colony for her. To this end, the French propaganda machinery has been working overtime grinding out story after story about the Red menace in Asia, how French democracy is on the verge of extinction in Indo-China, how China's Reds, who are nothing but Moscow's hirelings, are unfairly aiding the Indo-Chinese in their fight. All of this, of course, is pure hogwash. The French are taking a beating and are looking for help.

One excellent example of how the colonialists twist the news was contained in a *United Press* story from London on March 24, written by Harold Guard, one of *UP's* staff correspondents. Guard reported: "Intelligence reports from Indo-China said today that Chinese Communists from Yunnan Province have joined Vietnam guerrillas in fighting French colonial forces." The story then gave details of border attacks from China, saying, "Chinese Communists now control half of Yunnan.... 70,000 Communists (are) moving to occupy six important towns within easy reach of Indo-China by road and river."

The first thing that is wrong with this story is that it comes from "intelligence" sources. No matter whether they are French or British, they are obviously suspect in this case since both are official agencies of governments which have actively been playing up the red threat in Asia for their own partisan ends. To readers here in China, it is useless to point out the many other errors in the story. Correspondent Guard, perhaps, may be pardoned for not knowing his Chinese geography or for not being familiar with the many revolts—only some of which are Communist led—in Kuomintang areas of China. However, he also should know better than to write about China from London, especially if he has no more reliable sources than French or British secret police organizations.

The Siamese have not been far behind the French in their yelping about the dangers of the reds. The Siamese Government, which is not known for its efficiency, possibly has two aims in view. One likely one is to get on the

anti-communist bandwagon so as to be in a position to grab off its share of the money which it is confidently hoped Uncle Sam will dish out. The other could be to seize a fine opportunity for obtaining outside support for a continuation of its long-time campaign against the large Chinese minority in the country. According to press reports, virtually all of Siam's estimated 4,000,000 people of Chinese descent may be considered suspect. Government spokesmen have talked loudly of the communist menace and have remarked pointedly that the monstrous doctrine of Marxism has little appeal for Siamese, being confined almost entirely to the country's Chinese community. Viewed in the light of past actions of the Siamese Government, this sudden concern over Communism is merely another chapter in a long history of pogroms against the Chinese minority.

The Philippine Government apparently does not wish to be left out and has joined the scramble. According to daily press reports, Manaila is rapidly discovering that the Hukbalahap rebellion is not so much a result of the government's inability to solve its landlord-peasant problems as it is the direct result of foul instigation by the numerous communists among the islands' Chinese population.

The ability of the Chinese Communists should not be underestimated, but we wonder if these people, who have yet to bring the major portion of China under their control, are capable of turning all of Asia upside down through such extensive operations as some would have us believe.

What Press Association D'ya Read?

".....the first British skipper to return here from a regularly scheduled run to North China....said that all industry in Tientsin was 'completely stagnant.'—*United Press* dispatch from Hongkong in the *Shanghai Evening Post*, March 22.

"The United States Department of Agriculture says six of the seven former China Textile Industries, Inc. (government owned) cotton mills have resumed operations in Tientsin under the Communist regime. The seventh was reported to be beyond repair.—*Associated Press* dispatch from Washington in the *China Press* March 22.

Self Help

WE have discussed the question of self help upon several past occasions, usually pointing out that no amount of foreign aid could solve China's many complex economic problems unless an energetic program of self help were inaugurated. Such a belief can scarcely be questioned, but the argument usually has arisen over whether or not the Government actually has attempted to help itself. Official sources, quite naturally, have maintained that the Government was exploring all possible avenues in its search for methods of obtaining aid within this country and that only the Civil War has prevented China from pulling herself up by her own boot straps. Others have maintained that there was little or no evidence of self help or that efforts directed toward that end were entirely too puny. Some critics have charged that not only were there no signs of self help but that there was concrete evidence of deliberate misuse of foreign aid.

Personally, we have been of the opinion that precious little effort has been or is being made to develop internal sources of aid, while the existence of waste in handling foreign aid is evident to all but the blind. This is not to say that the Chinese Government has not recognized the need for helping itself by using indigenous methods and materials for reconstruction and rehabilitation. However, it does appear that the matter has gone no farther than the "recognition" stage. We have yet to see any evidence that this administration has been able to organize itself sufficiently for effective action. Thousands of tons of rotting and rusting materials and machines, piled in huge storage areas throughout the country, bear ample testimony to the Government's poor use of outside aid.

There are, we know, many standard reasons advanced as to why such materials have not been used. It is said that the materials themselves are unsuited to China, that the machines were not in working order, that the Government had no money to finance the distribution of the supplies, etc. A trip through any of these storage depots, however, will illustrate the flimsiness of such statements and adequately show that they are at best very poor excuses for a seemingly complete inability for organization.

The continued existence of these depots, filled with materials which in some cases arrived in this country more than three years ago, is a visible indictment of the administration. The claim by officialdom that the materials are not usable in this country can easily be disproved by a walk through any of the several so-called thieves' markets in Shanghai, where salvaging and improvisation, developed to an astounding degree of perfection, may be seen. For instance, the fact that the glass craftsmen have developed a technique whereby the smallest pieces of broken window pane can be salvaged and made into useful articles testifies to the truth of the saying that nothing in this country need be wasted. The blocks-long sidewalk markets where gears, bearings, chains, and all sorts of machine parts are bought and sold and bartered, is proof that the small Chinese merchant can, if circumstances permit, organize his activities in such fashion as to fulfill a public need. The people have the ability and the organization to use the materials, no matter how small. It is only the Government, undecided and uncertain, which perches atop valuable materials like a hen sitting on infertile eggs which eventually will rot and become useless.

Is it any wonder, then, that an administration which is incapable of making good use of materials given it has difficulty in discovering ways and means of helping itself?

* * *

WHILE there is as yet little information about such matters in Communist areas, a few items recently carried by the *North Shensi Radio* may give an inkling of how the question of self help is being met on the other side. Obviously, with no monthly subsidy from America in sight,

the Reds will have to accomplish all their rehabilitation and reconstruction aims through self help. How well they will be able to organize themselves and how fast they will be able to proceed toward their announced goal of increasing production and making a better life for the people remains to be seen. However, it does appear that they have gone the Nationalists at least one step better by making an effort to do something.

One story from Manchuria tells how the workers in the state-owned farm implement factory in Harbin recently perfected two new farm machines. One was a horse-drawn soya bean harvestor which is said to harvest more than eight acres of beans a day. The other, a threshing machine drawn by a four horse team, can handle more than three tons of grain per day. The story ends on a characteristic note: "Only after the agrarian reform did the farmers in Manchuria begin to have the spare cash for new machinery."

This seems to us to be a very significant story. With reform of the land tenure and the tax systems, the farmer's living standard is raised, and as soon as this is done, the state factories begin turning out improved machines for him to buy which will in turn increase his productive powers and, presumably, his income.

In Manchuria the Chinese Communists found precious little in the way of ready made capital. In fact, the area had been pretty well stripped of its industrial machine by Russian confiscation and local looting, not to mention the American bombing during the war. Presumably, the Communists had to start pretty much from scratch. They reformed the land system and then, with the farmer's economic condition already slightly improved and with cash in his pocket for the first time, set about making labor saving machinery to sell him.

Contrast this to the extensive agricultural improvement system blueprinted for Nationalist areas. The emphasis was all on foreign help, foreign technicians, foreign money, foreign machines. The foreigners, their machines and their money all arrived, but what has been the result? True, some organizations, such as the NAEC, have been set up and are functioning. However, what about the farmer? Shackled with the old evils of tenancy, heavy and unjust taxes, and occupying a social position but little better than that of a serf, these improvements on the whole have been of little help to him. Hundreds of tractors were brought to China, but how many have been put into use? Some are used by Government organizations, but we would guess that scarcely any have actually been put to the use for which they were intended.

Take another example. From Kaifeng it is reported that the People's Government has completed the dredging of the Hui-Chi Canal which passes through the city. Un-dredged for 10 years, its overflow had inundated the flatlands surrounding the town thus making unworkable one-fourth of the area which in the past used to produce 1,000,000 kilograms of salt, soda and nitrate yearly. This 10-year-old flood caused the unemployment of an estimated 1,200 salt workers.

The dredging was accomplished by the mobilization of 5,000 workers found without jobs when the Reds took over the city. One might be tempted to ask why the Nationalist administration of this city, which was in occupation about three years after VJ Day and which presumably had at its disposal all sorts of mechanical dredging and other equipment as gifts from UNRRA or secured through surplus property deals, failed to undertake the job? How is it that a Communist administration, working without the aid of foreign tools to lighten the work, was able to undertake and complete the job in a matter of months? Surely the Reds had to face at least as many obstacles as the Nationalists.

There are many possible explanations, of course, for this seeming ability of the Communists to pitch into a job and get it done. One very likely one is easily explained by the old adage about how a new broom sweeps cleaner than an old one, meaning that people new to power are on the whole more earnest in their administration, more efficient and more determined to please than an old gang which has become so accustomed to ruling that it has forgotten the importance of popular goodwill.

Another reason, perhaps, is that faced with the prospect of gaining control of a China which will be cut off from the American dole, the Communists realize that any improvements to be made must be brought about by their own efforts and that, therefore, they have to get busy and do what they can with the materials on hand. The KMT, on the other hand, has not really had to get out and dig for the past few years because it seemed certain that Uncle Sam could be counted upon to provide the money and direction.

A still further possibility — and the one which we believe is the most important—is that the Communists are by nature a very realistic bunch not given to living in a dream world filled with wonderful paper plans for the future. At the present moment they are viewed by many as a huge colossus from the north which is about to shove the tottering Kuomintang aside and swallow the country. However, it should be remembered that their dominance of the scene is a quite recent affair. As recently as a year or two ago there were many people who would not have given the Communists much of a chance. Ever since 1927 the odds have been weighted heavily in favor of the KMT. Purged from the Government, defeated militarily time and again until finally surrounded in a small pocket in Kiangsi in 1930, the Communists have been on the verge of complete defeat countless times. When the Generalissimo drove them into the barren north Shensi countryside in 1935, most observers felt that the end was in sight. Even many of their supporters and friends thought that all was up with the Reds. However, they seem to have come through very well.

The reason for their success, we believe, lies not so much in the fact that they are communists and that communism appears to offer a hope of a better life for the downtrodden in

many lands, as it does in the fact that the Communists realized that if they were to exist at all, they had to provide a platform that was popular with the broad mass of the people. Whether the platform was a proper "red" one or not was unimportant. What was important was that it give the people a better deal. Boiled down to one essential, the Communists' program meant reform. There is a lot of loose talk about the excesses of the Chinese Communists, their atrocities against "the people," etc. However, the fact remains that there is ample evidence that in areas where they have assumed control, they have been active reformers of the social, economic, and political scene. People fleeing the Reds have told of their brutality, their iron rule, and so on. However, it would seem that the mass of the people must like what the Communists have been doing. Otherwise, why would they support them and enable them to rise to their present powerful position?

Suppose that all the stories of Communist atrocities were correct. Suppose that the Communists actually had killed all the landlords and their families and divided up their wealth among the tenants. Who would really care, aside from the landlords and those closely connected with them; a group consisting of perhaps 15 or 20 percent of the population. Observers who deplore bloodshed might well object, but the vast majority of the population, which will benefit thereby, can hardly be expected to offer serious opposition to such a program.

Since there seems ample evidence that these "excesses" which have been made so much of by the KMT and others have been few and far between and that the Reds reform measures on the whole have been rather orderly, it would appear that the extreme realism school of thought has triumphed. Forced by circumstances — as much as anything else — to give good government and to face problems realisticly, the Communists have won out against seemingly overwhelming obstacles. The few reports of achievements now reaching Shanghai from areas more recently taken over seem to confirm this view. The Reds are giving good, efficient, and honest government. A few, especially those who have battened off the peasants and the workers in the past, find that there is no place for them in the Communist's scheme of things and have come running to Shanghai and other havens with howls of anguish. The vast majority, however, appears to be staying put and to be enjoying such improvements as canal dredging, land redistribution, higher income and supplies of better farming tools.

From the little evidence now available one might hazard a guess that the day of self help is approaching. Its arrival will satisfy a lot of people and at the same time will confound a great many, especially those who have heard excuses for so long that they have come to believe that the Chinese were a special breed of people differing from the rest of the world's inhabitants in their reactions and abilities.

25 Years Ago in *The China Weekly Review*

March 29, 1924.

Peace Plan Contest

The various manuscripts received in the *Review's* contest for a best and most practical Peace Plan for China have at last been translated into English or into Chinese as the case may be and turned over to the judges.....The widespread interest which the *Review's* contest has aroused throughout China is indicated in the number of letters which are being received.....One letter this week from Mr. Wilfredo T. Ty, editor of the Fukien *Star* of Foochow, reads in part:

".....if you ever wish to be of any use in China, my Challenge is, do something for the next generation. Invest your fortune in the next generation and thus be assured of twofold greater returns. We already know enough about the nature of the human youth to supply us for a long time to come with a working basis for his direction and improvement. Our point of greatest interest is of course the prevention of the young from taking up the ways which are deplored in the conduct of the adult and further to develop in them independent judgment, the power of sustained and self-directed activity in enlarging social relationships, the ability to grow in co-operation with, and not in opposition to, the rest of their countrymen. In other words, to develop in them a new morality. When this, and a few other reforms have been accomplished, then many if not all of the evils which now afflict China will vanish or remedy themselves automatically. Then and only then will China be at peace."

* * *

Opium Business

The Anti-Opium Bureau in Canton has claimed the exclusive right of preparing opium for sale in the city. The Bureau is preparing daily 4,000 ounces of opium, making a profit of $8,000 every day, when all products are disposed of. The prepared opium is being sold from $11 to $5.50 an ounce according to grade and origin.

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

April 1, 1939

Industrialization Of Siberia

Agricultural production in eastern Siberia has increased five times over the previous output, coal production has increased four times and scores of new mines with modern technical equipment have been opened in the Irkutsk region, according to the report of Kachalin, the Communist delegate at the 18th Communist Congress recently held in Moscow. He said that Eastern Siberia has become a flourishing industrial country where thousands of tractors, harvesting combines and other complicated agricultural machines work on collective farms. Gross industrial output had increased more than 200 percent, providing a firm foundation for future development of the region as well as strengthening the defense power of the Soviet Union in the Far East.

* * *

Puppet Nanking

Nanking made much fuss and noise on the occasion of the first anniversary (March 28) of the creation of the so-called "Reformed Government" by the Japanese.

Failing in repeated efforts to erect a unified structure for the control of the various rival regional groups, the Japanese are now trying to make Nanking the center of their future political intrigues. This is revealed in a statement issued by the Nanking regime, announcing that plans for the organization of a central administration are nearing completion, the fundamental principle of such an administration being close cooperation with Japan and its ultimate objective, the establishment of a new order in East Asia.

With the assistance and under the direction of the Japanese Government, the statement claimed, Nanking and its affiliated groups made marked progress during the year. But the statement voiced deep regrets for the killing of several important officials of the regime.

Journey To Red Shantung

Hugh Deane

IN Tsingtao, where dispirited Nationalists and uncertain Americans await the Communists, information about how to cross to the Communist lines is as plentiful as beggars and deteriorating US-made materiel. This information is not always reliable, but getting to the Communists is so easy that it does not matter very much. Larry Tighe, a businessman and writer, Henri Cartier-Bresson, a Magnum photographer, and I crossed over painlessly in a jeep on February 10th.

We were escorted through the Nationalist lines by a staff officer who took the precaution of substituting a private's cap for his own. At Chimo, some 30 miles northwest of Tsingtao, the commanding general told us without fervor over lunch that the Reds might shoot us. "On this side is freedom; on the other, tyranny," he remarked. We spent the night at the Nationalist outpost of Lingshan, a fortified village.

The next morning we drove slowly into no man's land, along the rutted road of a brown, tamed valley, passing the indigo figures of peasants who grinned at us. When we saw people in the distance, we slowed the jeep to a crawl, and Cartier-Bresson and I walked in front of it; waving a white flag. But we went through several villages without meeting anybody except little knots of curious peasants and groups of racing children.

In a village eight or 10 miles from Lingshan we met a blue-clothed militiaman with a Japanese rifle. He grinned, got in the jeep and took us on to the next village where at last we saw the padded yellow uniforms of the People's Liberation Army.

We stayed in this village a week, living in battalion headquarters. Two officers came and interviewed us in Japanese, and a day or so later an English-speaking *hsien* official interviewed us more thoroughly. This official took us on about 10 miles to a village suburb of the county seat of East Pingtu. Here we waited a fortnight vainly for a reply to our request to proceed to Tsinan. This request was transmitted through official channels to the East China and North China governments, both of which, we discovered later, were being moved. Another factor hindering quick action was the inadequacy of communications, which bear a heavy military and administrative burden.

After a fortnight I was obliged to give up the idea of continuing to Tsinan and requested permission to return to Tsingtao. This request, too, was transmitted to the East China and North China governments. It was granted after another two weeks, and on March 18th the three of us drove back to Tsingtao, again crossing the lines without incident. In fact, we drove through the Nationalist lines without being challenged once.

During our five weeks' stay in the two Red villages we were restricted most of the time to the compounds in which we lived. The officials explained that they had to obtain authorization before we could go about freely. They also expressed the fear that we might be attacked by Kuomintang terrorists, as, they declared, two Catholic priests had been some time before. We were treated with friendliness by all soldiers, officials and peasants with whom we came in contact, given the best possible food and lodging, and allowed to send whatever telegrams and letters we wished into the Liberated Areas.

When we left, we tried unsuccessfully to pay for our lodging and food. "There is no provision for payment, and no one ever has," an official told us. Our offers of gasoline and tools were also rejected politely. At last we forced our hosts to accept a medical kit by threatening to throw it in a ditch on our way to Tsingtao.

* * *

OUR week in battalion headquarters gave us intimate and favorable impressions of the Communist armed forces, though the troops we saw were only *hsien* guards and not a component of a field army. Mostly young boys in their teens, they were healthy, earnest and cheerful. They were well-uniformed and fed, and their arms, though presumably inferior to those issued to the field armies, were zealously tended. We watched squads of them practice field stripping light machine guns in freezing weather. Recruits were given detailed instruction with the help of diagrams chalked on the walls. Perhaps most striking was the relationship between the troops and the peasants. It was so friendly and natural that the soldiers just seemed to be part of the population.

I talked several times in Japanese to a soldier named Li who came from Harbin. He had been in the Nationalist army two years and about a year ago had gone over to the Communists. He told me that he received the equivalent of 10 People's Bank dollars a month. "The organization of the People's Bank is a big step toward the stabilization of the currency," he added pridefully.

In the evenings a courier would come on a bicycle with mail and copies of the local newspaper, the *Giao Dung Pao*. A little knot of soldiers would read the paper by the light of a peanut oil lamp which cast giant shadows on the earthen walls. Sometimes the paper would publish a new song, and the soldiers would puzzle out the tune and then sing it.

Not only was there a great deal of group singing, but the individual soldiers would sing to themselves as they walked along. Once a few of them sang the Internationale, but the favorite song was a new one called Discipline for Entering Cities Song. Another was the Eight Disciplines and Four Principles Song.

The daily newspaper also served as a kind of textbook. Li told me that the soldiers would study the paper and then during a class would ask the instructor to explain things they did not understand. A group discussion would result. "A well-educated army is a strong army," Li explained to me.

Most of the newspaper was devoted to local and national news, but foreign news was allocated some space. The expulsion of Anna Louise Strong from Russia was given a front-page box; Agnes Smedley's reply to General MacArthur was summarized. American policy toward China was several times reviewed, and survey articles dealt with the situations in Indonesia and Indo-China.

A hunger for detailed news about the outside world was evident among the local officials. A half-dozen copies of *The China Weekly Review* which we brought with us were read avidly, and numerous articles from them were translated. A desire for scientific information was particularly apparent. One official listed for us foreign magazines which he would like to receive: *New Masses, Popular Mechanics* . . .

On one wall of our compound was a skillfully-executed cartoon showing a big-nosed American general holding a little bespectacled Japanese as if to place him on a saddled dog named Chiang. The title was "Servant of Servants." The soldiers would laugh merrily, and with a touch of embarrassment, whenever we went up to eye this more closely.

The soldiers were curious about our possessions, which they would examine casually and discuss. They were always friendly, and sometimes with great hilarity we would chase each other around the compound. The soldiers had a chinning bar lashed between two trees nearby and in the evenings they would take off their padded coats and take turns doing tricks on it.

* * *

THE area in which we stayed has been the scene of intermittent fighting since about 10 years ago, when the Shantung Column and Lin Piao's Eighth Route Army division began to resist the Japanese in the province. The Communists early established a guerrilla base in the area, from which they harassed the Tsingtao-Tsinan railroad, and tales of raids, ambushes, heroes, traitors and tricks played on the Japanese, we discovered, have become part of the local folklore. The last heavy fighting took place in 1947, when the Nationalists pushed through from Tsingtao to capture Chefoo. We saw a small town which had been largely destroyed by Nationalist shell

fire then, and were told that the local Communist forces had defended it bitterly, wiping out several Kuomintang regiments. Now what is left of the population is rebuilding slowly; new straw roofs have risen here and there among the smashed walls.

The harvests of the last two years have been small as a result of the war and bad weather, we were told. This year the local authorities, directed by the provincial government, have begun an intense drive to increase production. The *Giao Dung Pao* every day carried long articles and editorials about spring plowing and sowing, a seed and fertilizer loan program has been worked out, and about March 10th the soldiers went into the fields to help the peasants. Daily progress reports were sent to Tsinan by radio.

Land Reform

The land reform has been carried out in the area, a Communist Party member told us. The richest landlord in the vicinity owned about 1,000 *mow* (one-sixth of an acre) and the second richest, 365 *mow*. This land has been distributed to the former tenant families, which now own three *mow*, more or less, per person. Land owned by landlords was confiscated outright, but they were allowed to retain enough for their own use on the same basis as the peasants. The rich peasants were handled differently. Efforts were made to persuade them to give surplus land to poorer relatives. If persuasion failed, pressure was brought to bear through village meetings. Peasants who owned only a few more *mow* than their neighbors were not asked to give them up.

In some counties in Shantung some ultra-leftist incidents took place a year ago, we were told. A few landlords and collaborators were shot by decision of village meetings. These killings, however, were termed illegal by the higher authorities, since the magistrate is the lowest official with the power to order execution.

Another problem created by the redistribution of land, we were informed, has been the tendency of poor peasants who have received additional land to celebrate by working less hard. This caused middle peasants to grumble: "We worked to get our land. You get some for nothing and now you just loaf." To meet this problem, the Communists began production campaigns.

Poorer villages have been given land by richer villages. To effect such redistribution, conferences of several villages are called. If a village refuses to yield land to a poorer neighbor, the case may be referred to the commissioner, the immediate superior of the magistrate, for settlement.

For tax purposes the land in this area has been classified into ten degrees. The annual tax is two catties of grain per degree times *mow*, regardless of the size of the crop. Thus a peasant who owns ten *mow* of eight degree land will pay 160 catties. In some districts, however, a net profit tax system is employed.

Springtime Notes From Hunan

Toni Farnham

THE beauty of the Hunan countryside in spring cannot be a source of joy to its inhabitants this year with troubles even worse than economic chaos besetting the province. Early in March news of an army of rebels in the western part of the province came first as a rumor. Then, with the publication of newspaper accounts, it became the subject of discussion on everybody's lips.

Are they Communists? They deny it. Even stronger is the denial that they are bandits; they are the "People's Liberating Army" and they claim a just grievance and a cause for which they fight. Tsao Chen-ya, the leader of the liberators, was the chief of police in Hwanghsien, westernmost city in Hunan. Schoolboys learning the geography of their native province call that part "the nose on the old woman's face." From Hwanghsien, leader Tsao took his followers to the North and East as far as Chenki, wartime capital of Hunan. This city is the site of the famous cave-arsenal, and a desirable plum for anyone seeking power. Here the "liberators" took captive the head of the arsenal and held him prisoner while removing 8,000 rifles and a goodly supply of ammunition.

From Chenki the army, now growing to a size reported as high as 7,000, continued north to Yuanling. At this point the well-planned and executed "revolution" disintegrated into a campaign of pillage. The citizens of Yuanling found themselves the victims, rather than the beneficiaries, of the uprising. For ten days they huddled on terror while all shops and homes were systematically looted. An estimated 400 shops, after being cleared of all valuables, were burnt on the pretext that illumination was needed to prevent the Nationalist army, recently arrived from eastern Hunan, from crossing the river. In any event the regulars contented themselves with sporadic rifle fire, making no attempt to cross. On March 10 the rebels, after one last wave of looting, turned the city back to its officials and withdrew in an orderly manner.

The grievance of the revolutionary leader and his followers has been directed against the Vice Commander-in-Chief of the Peace Preservation Army, General Li Mo-an, who was sent recently from Changsha by Governor Chen Chien to organize and prepare that part of his command area for the national resistance to the Communist threat from the north. The farmers of this area are known to possess guns for their individual protection, and it is reported that General Li in his process of organization had confiscated these arms. This and other "oppressive" acts on the part of Li are said to be the cause of the uprising. Leader Tsao declares his loyalty to the Nationalist Government, and especially to Governor Chen, while seeking the overthrow and removal of General Li.

On the eleventh of March a negotiated agreement was reached in which the following points were made: 1) All the "rebels" at present under the leadership of Tsao Chen-ya would be formed into a division of the National Army. 2) Commander of this new division would be Wong Yuin-wha. 3) All the junior officers under Wong would be elected by their own men. 4) All pay, subsistence and supplies to this division are to be on an equal basis with those remitted to the Nationalist Army proper.

Tsao Chen-ya is to be commander of a regiment in this new army. At present, members of the liberation army have returned to their home villages and Tsao Chen-ya has gone back to his job in Hwanghsien to await the reorganization. Governor Chen is reported to be sending an official to Hwanghsien to count, interview and organize the new army.

Other parts of Hunan also are reacting to the weakened authority of the Central Government. Southwest of Changsha in Shaoyang, from where this is being written, life has become tense after many rumors of bandit attack. The present state of mind is best evidenced by a collapse of the market for staple commodities. First grade rice plunged from 7.60 to 4.50 silver dollars, even though transportation costs in this rice importing area have been increasing. All the police from the Hsien villages have been brought into the city for fear they would suffer the loss of their arms. A curfew has been ordered, and one night recently the lights of the city were kept on all night in anticipation of an attack. However, the recent arrival of troops from the First Army Regiment has helped ease the tension.

Wu-kang Hsien, south of Shaoyang, has not been so fortunate and is now experiencing the discomforts of its own small revolution. Its rebel army, starting with fifty men, has grown, if rumor may be relied upon, to 2,000 men. A door-to-door canvas of the largest village yielded the necessary guns, flashlights, and tennis shoes to equip an army. Local tailors were set to work making uniforms from confiscated cloth. So far the influence of this group has not extended beyond the hsien boundaries.

Although not unduly disturbed, Changsha watches with apprehension the two threats to her peace—the potential Hunan civil war to the west, and the fate of Hankow to the north.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN CHINA

A Chinese Christian

THE foreign missions in China are facing a situation today which they have never faced before. China has been going through a revolution ever since 1911, but we are witnessing a stage of that revolution now which is unprecedented in scope and intensity in the whole history of social change in China. My feeling is that while the Christian missions were able to make a valuable contribution in China in the past and could truly be regarded as pioneers, prophets, fanatics and martyrs, they have become confused at the present time and have not only lost their grip on things but are also uncertain of the direction in which they should be going.

In the past decades the missions came to China as a leaven in, and a crusade against, the then existing order of society. They were fruitful not only in the introduction of new thoughts, new institutions and new ways of life, but also in the demolishing of outmoded customs, practices and ideologies. The Christian churches, schools and hospitals were effective tools in the achieving of these aims. A Chinese who became a Christian in those days was a hero because in many ways he discarded the things that were behind and placed himself in a conspicuous position which was open to ridicule and persecution. The missionary, too, was a prophet because he was able to tell the Chinese what was wrong with their past and to point to them the way of the future. To put the matter in a nutshell, China was then a very backward country and the Christian missions from the "civilized" west brought with them a superior culture which the Chinese people needed even if many of them rebelled against it for a time because of social inertia.

New Situation

The situation today is entirely different. China is still a semi-feudalistic country—and semi-colonial as well, many would say. But China's revolution is heading not toward the pattern of the west but toward one of her own creation which is designed to meet her peculiar needs. This is not of China's own choice; it is forced on her by her own travail and the general world situation since the end of the last war. In the first place, the pattern of the west—capitalism—is on the decline, although it still possesses great potential strength in its present monopolistic stage. The era of capitalism is coming to an end and it is impossible for a semi-feudalistic country to develop itself fully into such a social order even if it wants to. In the second place, the existence of communism in China has pointed a way to the Chinese people — contrary to what many people think—which is more realistic and practical just because it is in accord with the interests of the masses of people who are suffering from the old regime. If this is not a fact, then the growth of Communism in China, which is capturing not only the toiling masses but also the intellectual class, simply cannot be explained. Communism is steadily gaining ground in China and the likelihood is it will play a dominant, if not sole, role in the politics of China in the future.

THE author of this article, who for obvious reasons prefers to remain anonymous at the present time, is a responsible Chinese Christian known personally to the editors. For some time he has felt that the Christian movement in China, particularly the part played by the foreign missionaries, was at variance with fundamental Christian concepts and was out of step with events in modern China. After considerable effort, he was persuaded to write out his views for publication in the *Review*. The whole question of the future place of the Christian movement in China is, we feel, of great importance. We have, therefore, invited both Chinese and foreign Christian leaders to present their views and will also welcome expressions of opinion from readers. —Editor.

Negative Attitude

What has all this development to do with Christian missions in China? Perhaps it is not unfair to say that the Christian missions as a whole do not understand the present trend of events and cannot see it in the historical perspective. They are, therefore, taking a more or less negative attitude to it. But even if they had understood the present development, they would not have taken a different attitude, simply because this development is so contrary to the outlook and assumptions to which organized Christianity has been accustomed. This negative attitude expresses itself in many different ways. In the first place Christian missions have magnified and exaggerated the shortcomings of the Communist movement in China. They have pointed their finger at the alleged violence and atrocities of the Communists, especially those connected with Christians, and regard themselves as sufferers for the Christian cause. They do not realize the fact that the Communists are working for a new social order and that their plans necessarily conflict with the existing order. Christian people may not want to support the existing order whole-heartedly, and yet they would be reluctant to give it up in favor of something which they believe to be contrary to Chistian principles.

Why is it that the Christian missions and the Christian movement in China as a whole are opposed to the present development in China? It is because they are too much one with the existing order. Both capitalism and protestantism grew out of a revolt against the feudalistic society with which the Catholic Church was more or less identified at that time. Both stood for individualism and laissez faire which constituted the core of liberalism in the modern age. Individualism has its values; in many ways it contributed to the development of the human personality. But in other ways individualism has been the cause of many of the ills of our present social order. It elevates human personality by one hand and immediately destroys it by the other. It permits freedom of action for the individual and yet it brings social chaos to a world which is no longer divided by geographical distance. It has been the cause of an economy of plenty, of emancipation from the world of nature, but at the same time it has brought about social inequality, class conflict and international antagonism.

Toward Collectivism

The present revolution which is now going on in China and other parts of the world is a revolution which is trying to put collectivism in the place of individualism and a planned economy in the place of social anarchism. There are people who want to hold fast to the liberalism for which our present individualistic order stands; they do not realize that the progressive disintegration of the present order will make this impossible. There are others who think that the present individualistic order should be changed, but that it should and could be gradually and peacefully evolved into a collectivistic order which will preserve the best elements in the liberalism of the present society. But the possibility of this has not been demonstrated by any group of nations in the modern world. But there is another disturbing factor. The present revolution is not taking place in a vacuum; it has to be carried out in a social setting which is preserved by force, implicit and explicit, and by an inertia which favors the maintenance of the status quo. Although this revolution will not mean the uprooting of everything in the present social order, because it will preserve much of its useful and wholesome groundwork, it would amount, nevertheless, to the dethroning of the present dominant class and that will mean a certain

amount of struggle in which violence and bloodshed will necessarily be involved.

The dilemma which we are facing today is this: The present social order simply cannot be maintained, even if we want it to be. A radical change is bound to come and it will mean more or less negation of the present individualism and liberalism —until the new collectivistic order is fully established. The change is forced on us and we have to pay the price for it. If we are not happy with the way in which others are attempting to bring about the change, it is up to us not only to devise better methods but also to demonstrate that these methods will work. But this, it seems, we are unable to do. We are facing a dilemma because we are in the situation of a person who is sick but refuses to recognize his sickness, and is trying his utmost to avoid the inconvenience, pain, and cost of having to consult a doctor.

Unfortunate Incidents

What is the situation in which the missionaries in China find themselves today? The Communists are steadily gaining ground; in due time, they may be able to bring the whole country under their control. In the so-called liberated areas the Christians, particularly the Catholics, seem to be experiencing a good deal of difficulty. Perhaps a good many of the reports about Communist atrocities and excesses are exaggerated or distorted. Yet it is beyond doubt that a good many of them are true.

There are various explanations for these occurrences, and we may take them for what they are worth. In the first place, in a period of turmoil created by the civil war unfortunate incidents would take place in spite of the best intentions. This would especially be true when the fighting forces are newly recruited and lack discipline. In the second place, the Communists are carrying out a series of very drastic land reforms in the liberated areas which would naturally come into conflict with people who are big land owners or rich farmers or have in one way or another oppressed the common people. Christians who suffer in this way suffer not as Christians but as civilians who come under the operation of the new legislation. In the third place, a large percentage of our missionaries are American citizens and many of our churches get their support from American sources. The unfortunate fact is that the Communists regard the United States as an even more dangerous enemy than the present Kuomintang regime in China. They often connect the missionaries and the Christian churches with American imperialism. Whether or not the missionaries or the Christians are actually engaged in activities which the Communists consider to be subversive, they are under suspicion.

Broader Perspective

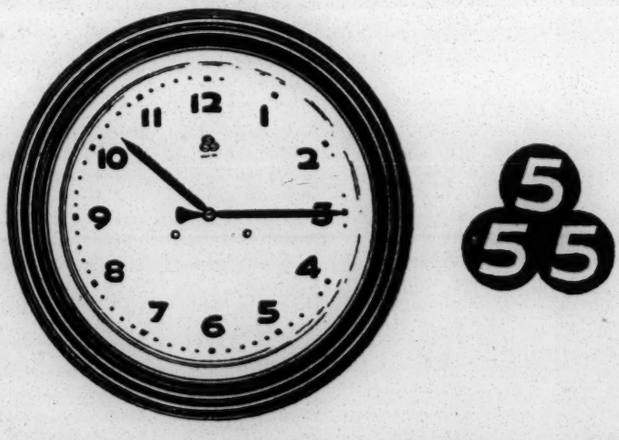
If these explanations have some degree of truth in them, then the whole situation takes on quite a different color. It would seem then that the responsibility for the unfortunate incidents lies just as much with the missionaries and the Christians as with the Communists. Our failure to deal with the burning issues in the present social situation has brought about communism, and our hostile attitude towards communism and the conscious or unconscious ties which we have with the existing order make the situation worse.

The failure on the part of the missionaries and the Christians to look at the whole matter from this broader perspective has caused them to take a negative attitude toward the present development. Instead of thinking in constructive terms as to how they can contribute to the building of a new order and how they can lessen the evils which would inevitably accompany this period of change, they are thinking in terms of evacuation and withdrawal. Some even talk in terms of the "new catacombs" they may have to go into. All this is most unfortunate, considering the revolutionary and prophetic nature of the original Christian gospel.

Whither Christian missions in China? It seems no one has even attempted to answer the question. In fact we cannot answer it until we are conscious of our involvement in the status quo which necessitates radical change. But if we are conscious of it, then we shall see communism not as a menace to the things we hold dear, but as a challenge to the task which we should have taken up but have failed to. We may then see the vision of a new world of possibilities, in which we shall be able not only to do our part in building a new world but may also be able to convert many who now seem to oppose us in the Christian way of life. The fact that we do not see this vision is due to our obsession against communism and the Soviet Union. We have grown up with the present social order and have found ourselves comfortable in it even though it is full of contradictions. But the time may come when the march of events may open our eyes to the true situation and then, in repentance, we may be able to see wherein we have gone astray.

Whither Missions?

Whither Christian missions in China? It will be difficult for missionaries to answer this question for themselves. It will be difficult for Chinese Christians to answer it, because ideologically they are so much at one with the missionaries. The sad thing in our era is the fact that the United States as the richest and most powerful country in the world is trying to impose its social pattern on peoples and nations which are struggling for a new social order. Instead of allowing these peoples and nations to find their own way in the light of the situation they are in, the United States seems to be dictating to them, in fact if not in words, the way which they should go. This attitude of the United States is facing obstacles in many parts of the world and it is now meeting with the most persistent opposition in China. Will the missionary movement in China be able to rise above this situation and to proclaim the prophetic word or will it seek the easy way and identify itself with the forces of reaction? The answer to this question will have a great deal to do with the future of the Christian movement in China during the next decades.



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BANDITRY IN KWANGTUNG

Hsu Chien

KWANGTUNG province is experiencing even more unrest under its new governor, General Hsueh Yueh, than during the regime of T. V. Soong. This is not because General Hsueh, a famous commander in the anti-Japanese war, is any less able than T. V. Soong. The problems are just too big for any administrator who is powerless to attack the underlying causes of the people's discontent.

Hence the steady increase of banditry and Communist activities throughout the province. Even the central area, which has the most densely populated and richest hsien —Taishan, Sinhui, Kaiping, etc., has not been able to escape such activities. To cite a few instances:

Peisha, a town in Taishan, was looted by a gang of more than 200 men armed with machine guns and other firearms. A taxicab on the Kongmoon-Sinhui highway was held up by four armed robbers who made away with several bags of GY notes worth around 12,000 Hongkong dollars. At more than one place river boats plying between Changsha and Kongmoon have been fired upon by bandits on the river banks.

In fact, waterway communications are a favorite target. At numerous spots along the river between Wuchow and Canton, river bandits impose a toll upon each passing vessel. This hampers the free flow of goods and causes commodity prices to increase even further. Firewood, for which Canton and its outlying regions look chiefly to Kwangsi, is an example. The heavy tolls exacted by bandits for allowing this commodity to pass through have boosted its price considerably.

East River Area

Waterway communication in eastern Kwangtung is even more precarious. From Waichow all the way up to Laolung scores of toll collecting stations have been established along the river and ships who refuse to pay cannot pass safely. Recently a strong military convoy had to be sent to escort hundreds of vessels down the river.

In the East River area, where the famous Communist East River Column operated during the war, the rural districts of a number of hsien, among them Haifeng, Lufeng, Sinfeng, Lungmen, Wuhwa, Tsichin, Tapu and Meihsien, have fallen into the hands of the Reds. Government officials find it extremely risky to stir out of the hsien cities, and when it is necessary for them to do so they very often disguise themselves. Government laws and decrees have no effect in areas 10 or 20 li beyond the hsien cities. The homes of KMT generals and officials, among them General Fan Han-chieh, once vice commander-in-chief of the land forces; General Lo Cho-ying, ex-governor of Kwangtung; and General Huang Tao, an army commander, have been raided and stripped of munitions and other property.

It is worthy of note that, while the Reds used to scatter over hilly regions and remote areas, they recently have been massing at points close to important communication lines. Scores of highway bridges in various hsien have been demolished, thus blocking motor traffic and impeding the movement of KMT garrison troops. Lofow Mountain in eastern Kwangtung has been occupied and developed into a strong base from which the Communists will be in a favorable position to strike at nearby cities.

Informants state that the Reds in this region have issued a kind of "People's Notes" in denominations of from one to 50 dollars for circulation in areas they control. Late in February, the exchange rate was said to be GY30 to one of these notes. Large transactions were said to be conducted chiefly in silver and retail trade in the People's Notes.

Southern Kwangtung

Similar developments are taking place in southern Kwangtung. Three or four months ago a whole regiment of the provincial Peace Preservation Corps led by Commander Chen I-lin rose up and joined forces with the Communists. Since this revolt, the Communists have been noticeably more active, using Suichi and Lienchiang as bases of operation. This has put the port of Kwangchowan, which already has been attacked once by Chen's mutineers, under constant threat and a strong garrison force has to be maintained.

Early in March, several thousand troops from Red-dominated Hainan Island crossed over to Suwen on the Luichow peninsula and were reported marching toward Suichi and Linkiang to join forces with their colleagues there. One story reports that when this juncture is effected, the Reds in southern Kwangtung plan to contact Communists in the West River areas and make a drive on the vital central area of the province.

West River Area

The growth of Communists in the West River area likewise is a source of alarm to the provincial authorities. Since the uprising, toward the end of last year, of a militia unit led by a Chin chief of Tucheng, a town on the West River, numbers of peasants who are fed up with Government misrule have been joining the Communists. It is estimated that Red forces in the last two months have broken into upwards of 70 Government granaries and distributed the foodstuffs to the poor peasants. During the early part of March, strong Red units attempted to capture the hsien city of Loting, and it was not until heavy reinforcements arrived that the KMT troops were able to force them to retreat.

Despite their relative inexperience, Red forces in the central area have displayed as much audacity in breaking into Government granaries and disarming local militia as their more veteran comrades in other areas. While in the not so distant past their raids were confined to smaller towns, they now apparently consider themselves strong enough to attack larger places. Two months ago the so-called "Sinkui-Kaoming-Hokshan People's Liberation Army" raided the hsien seat of Kaoming, burned down the hsien government building, broke into the granary and captured a quantity of arms. Recently this same force, numbering some 600 men, made a night raid on the city of Kaiping and was repulsed only after some three hours of fighting. Following this, a group of armed Reds suddenly appeared one evening in Chikhom, the main town in Kaiping hsien, and posted up slogans, distributed handbills and talked to shopkeepers about the Communist policy of helping the people. These visitors made short work of their propaganda mission and made good their escape. All these activities have given the local authorities a bad case of jitters.

Although the authorities make a great issue of "Communist bandit atrocities," the people are coming to realize that, at the very least, the Reds are vastly different from or-

"TITO DISCOVERS AMERICA"

La Citadella, Trieste

dinary bandits. Incidents like the following have made a great impresssion.

Last summer the Reds conducted a night raid on Dan Shui How in Kaiping hsien. They kept their hands off the inhabitants' property, however, although they were in a position to do as much looting as they wanted, since the garrison troops in the suburbs had been surrounded. In a hsiang in Kaiping, a band of armed Reds shot several bandits who, in the name of the "People's Liberation Army," had plundered a passing bus. They requested the local inhabitants to report the execution to the hsiang chief.

Awaiting Communists

The sentiment of the people, in fact, is more and more on the side of the Reds. One old man of well over 60, a hsien councillor of Kaiping, openly told his friends that he was awaiting the arrival of the Communists, saying, "Since the Communists have been in the North for so long, why don't they come down to the South sooner?" This is the boldest remark about communism that I have heard made publicly. It is to be understood that the old man is a local luminary who has been in public service for scores of years. Hence he is in no fear of being red-baited merely for having made an "undesirable" remark.

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The Week's Business

THE Shanghai market ruled firm during the past seven days under review. Because of the large sums paid out by the Central Bank of China for Government and military use, as well as large sums remitted here from outports, the money market was easy and as a result people rushed to buy financial articles and commodities.

That inflation is getting worse and worse every day can be seen from the fact that the printing press finds it impossible to keep up with the increasing demand for cash notes. During the past three weeks, there has been a severe shortage of cash notes in the local market and premiums of as high as 20 percent are being paid for cash.

A number of factors, in addition to the printing press bottleneck, are responsible for this situation. Among the important ones are:

1) Large sums of cash notes are reported to have been distributed or are being reserved for distribution to Government offices by the Central Bank of China and, as a result, no cash notes are available for distribution to the commercial banks and business firms.

2) For the past month, the Central Bank of China has refused to issue notes of denominations bigger than GY500 and GY1,000 on the reasoning that the issuance of big denomination notes would stimulate the markets and cause a general rise in quotations. The authorities apparently do not understand that the necessity of issuing big denomination notes is a result rather than a cause of inflation.

3) The buying and selling of silver dollar coins by large numbers of people on the streets is reported to have kept large sums of Gold Yuan notes from circulation elsewhere.

The situation has deteriorated to such an extent that the Central Bank has found it necessary to issue Banker's Checks in denominations of GY5,000; GY10,000; GY50,000; and GY100,000 for circulation in place of cash notes. If this practice is continued and if there is no limit on the issuance of these checks, it is generally feared that commodity prices will increase very fast, since it is far cheaper to issue Banker's Checks than cash notes.

According to the *Financial Daily*, which is reported to have some connections with Dr. S. Y. Liu, Governor of the Central Bank and concurrently Minister of Finance, the Government paid out GY40,000,000,000 as political and military expenses during the month of February. During the first 19 days of March, as much as GY159,400,000,000 was paid for political and military expenses, and the estimate for the entire month of March is over GY200,000,000,000, or an average of GY7,000,000,000 per day. At this rate, the average daily expenses for April should be somewhere around GY10,000,000,000 or GY15,000,000,000.

Under this situation, it is hardly possible for the Government to arrest price increases by the sale of gold as the Central Bank of China is continuing to do in the newly reopened Shanghai Gold Exchange. The daily receipt in Gold Yuan notes from the sale of gold by the Central Bank is estimated to be GY5,000,000,000 or GY6,000,000,000. For some days, however, it is only GY1,000,000,000 or GY2,000,000,000, and on many days the Central Bank has refused to sell gold. With the Central Bank's outpayments for political and military expenses increasing daily, it is difficult to see how the present policy of gold selling can recall sufficient Gold Yuan notes to check the increase of prices.

Another byproduct of this unchecked inflation is the serious crisis faced by local factories. Only paper mills engaged in the manufacturing of banknote paper can make good money and keep busy. In the leading Tien Chang Paper Mill, all machines will suspend operations by the end of March, except the one used for the manufacturing of banknote paper. In general, it is reported that for the manufacturing of one ream of newsprint, the local mills lose a sum equivalent to two reams of newsprint. This is due both to the high cost of production and the low market price. Paper mills must buy highly priced foreign exchange clearance certificates, in order to import pulp and other materials, thus boosting costs, while because of the general weak conditions in the commodity market in face of the concentration of Communist troops on the northern bank of the Yangtze River, market prices are poor.

Conditions in other factories are reported also to be very dull. Between 70 and 75 percent of the underwear manufacturers in Shanghai have suspended operations. Many of the leading knitting mills in Shanghai are working only seven hours a day. The dyeing and weaving mills have had their working capacity cut down by 50 to 60 percent and the textile mills have been incurring losses regularly because of high production costs. The woolen textile industry has only one month's supply of raw materials, and the marketing of woolen yarn is almost nil.

The following table gives the quotations on March 23 and 30:

	Mar. 23 GY	Mar. 30 GY
Gold	554,000	800,000
US Dollar	12,450	16,000
Clearance Certificate	10,900	16,000
Silver Dollar	7,900	12,000
20's Yarn	1,880,000	2,930,000
Rice	60,000	89,000
Wing On Textile	7.28	9.75

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Peace Talks Commence In Peiping; Communists Shift To City Policy

PEACE negotiations between the Government and the Chinese Communists are expected to begin in Peiping on April 1. The Government's peace delegation is headed by General Chang Chih-chung, the other members being Shao Li-tze, Huang Shao-hsiung, Chang Shih-chao, and Li Cheng. The Communists are represented by Chou En-lai, Lin Piao, Yeh Chien-ying, Lin Pei-chi and Li Wei-han. The Government has accepted Communist leader Mao Tze-tung's eight terms made public on January 14 as the basis for discussion.

According to the Chinese-owned *China Daily Tribune*, the maximum concessions the Government is expected to make on these eight points are as follows:

1) In the matter of the punishment of war criminals, the Government will request the Communists not to adopt an attitude of "retaliation", but will agree to the complete withdrawal from politics of such leaders as were ardent advocates of the civil war.

2) With reference to the abrogation of the Constitution, agreement will be given to the convocation of a new National Assembly truly representative of the people in the country for a referendum.

3) The question of the abolition of the legal status of the present Government is considered of no consequence in view of the expected formation of a coalition Government if the peace talks succeed.

4) The reorganization of the Army should be carried out on the principle of the nationalization of the armed forces.

5) As to the confiscation of bureaucratic capital, the Government will agree to its requisitioning on a fair basis.

6) The enforcement of land reform is also the policy of the Government.

7) The abolition of "traitorous" treaties can be effected after careful study of existing agreements.

8) Complete agreement is expressed with the convocation of a new Political Consultative Conference for the establishment of a coalition government.

* * *

Army Issue

IT is understood that the Government is willing to make "reasonable" concessions in order to obtain Communist agreement for an immediate cease-fire order and to freeze both the Nationalist and Communist troops at their present position. Immediate cessation of hostilities will be the first demand of the Nationalists on the grounds that continuation of fighting is not conducive to peace negotiations.

Well-informed sources predict that the question of reorganization of the armies is the crux of the peace issue, and it is generally feared that the peace talks may breakdown on this point.

Before the departure of the Government's peace delegation, a series of important conferences were held by responsible generals of the Ministry of National Defense to discuss the reorganization of armies. Acting President Li Tsung-jen, Premier Ho Ying-chin and all members of the peace delegation also were present at these conferences. Results of these talks were guarded as top secrets, but it is understood that, after much deliberation, the Government adopted certain formula which would "possess the dual feature of being acceptable to the Communists and at the same time be capable of maintaining the entity of the Nationalist Army which Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek laid down as one of his requirements for a peace settlement."

* * *

Peace—A Question Mark

PUBLIC reaction to the opening of peace talks has been a mixture of hope and apprehension. A *United Press* story dated March 27 from Nanking makes interesting reading. It reads in part as follows: "The question on most lips was: Can it be possible? To most cautious observers peace prospects are a question mark at best.

"At present none inside or outside the Government would dare to predict the ultimate outcome with honesty of conviction, but innermost thoughts of the majority were echoed by the president of National Peking University, Dr. Hu Shih, who spoke the scholastic sentence that 'peace is harder than war,' and by the remark of a prominent legislator who wanted to remain anonymous that 'if the forthcoming talks produce peace it will be the first miracle in two thousand years.'

"Possibility of some sort of a settlement, however, was not ruled out, but even if a settlement is reached competent opinion is that it at the most can only be a truce, an armed truce, not peace, because of the known Communist obsession with their revolutionary aims and their fanatic attachment to their political principles which brooks no opposition and tolerates only collaboration.

"It is generally doubted if the Communists can be persuaded to modify their ultimate revolutionary objective of wiping out all opposition and enveloping the whole country under their one-party rule. Unlike the previous Marshall-mediated negotiations, the Communists this time will call the tune in the talks and it is believed will agree to down arms only on their own terms.

"The Government appeared under no delusion as to the severity of the Communist terms. As said by Shao Li-tze, one of the Government delegates and staunch peace advocate, the prospects cannot be bright as long as the Communists insist on their original eight conditions.

"As the situation stands today one trump card in the hands of war weary China is the popular clamor for peace, as Chang Shih-chao, member of the Government peace delegation, said. Chang believes the force of public opinion may influence the two warring factions to awaken to the good sense of settling peacefully the backlog of hatred and political difference accumulated over 20 years of fighting.

"Both the Kuomintang and Communists in their public statements have taken cognizance of public opinion and avowed a desire for peace, and many observers have come round to the view that apparent Kuomintang and Communist reluctance to shoulder the odium of wrecking the peace talks once they had started may also be regarded as another contributing factor to the cause of peace.

"The Kuomintang's desire for peace is considered easy to understand in view of its lack of will and strength to continue the fight, but the Communist position is said more complicated."

* * *

KMT Unity

THE success or failure of the Government in making an "overall," and "honorable" peace with the Chinese Communists will in large measure depend on whether the Government can present a solid front in dealing with the Reds. Latest developments in Canton are being watched with interest and attention. After the return of Sun Fo to Canton, political activity in South China is said to have been in full swing. The sudden visit of T. V. Soong to Canton and Chikow, where Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek is staying in "temporary retirement," has already aroused much speculation.

The *Associated Press* reported March 26 from Nanking: Acting President Li Tsung-jen last night asked Premier Ho Ying-chin to fly to Canton in an eleventh hour effort to bring greater unity to Nationalist China before peace talks open with the Communists.

"Four of the Government peace

delegation and other top officials joined Li Tsung-jen at a meeting late last night in urging the Premier personally to tackle that southern focal point for political opposition to the Government's policies. Top Nationalist leaders met to renew their planning for the forthcoming negotiations.

"Ho Ying-chin is now tentatively scheduled to fly to Canton next Friday. He will confer with regional leaders there and members of the Kuomintang's Central Political Council and Central Executive Committee.

"The activities of Nationalist leaders favoring a more uncompromising attitude towards the Communists is centered in Canton. Right wing leaders there fear Nanking will make too many concessions to the Communists."

Rumors are persistent that the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang is going to hold a full session in Canton some time next May. By that time, the success or failure of the present peace negotiations between the Government and the Communists will have become known. The decision the CEC of the Kuomintang will make at that time will be momentous. It can approve or veto any agreement that the Government in Nanking under Li Tsung-jen and Ho Ying-chin may have reached with the Communists. If the talks should prove fruitless, the CEC will undoubtedly map out plans for continuing the fight. According to the Chinese newspapers, Teng Nien-fen, secretary-general of the headquarters of the Kuomintang, has gone to Chikow to ask the Generalissimo for personal instructions on the question.

* * *

New Policy

WITH the removal of the Central Headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party from Shihchiachuang to Peiping on March 25, the ancient capital is humming with political activity. The holding of peace talks in Peiping only adds to the importance of the city.

A new orientation in Communist policy was ordered by the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Communist Party which, in a resolution recently adopted, provides for shifting the centers of gravity of party work under present conditions from the rural districts to the cities. The said resolution reads inter alia: "The period of bottling up the cities with the rural districts is now ended. A new period has begun of working from the cities to the countryside. Of course the countryside must not be cast aside. But the center of gravity of party work must be placed on the cities....The party must do its utmost to learn how to lead the urban people to struggle successfully and learn how to administer and build up the cities."

The Communists take a serious view of their city work which consists mainly in restoring and expanding production. The Communist party membership is warned that the Communists will eventually lose out and collapse unless they can step up production and improve the livelihood of the people.

The shift of Communist work from the rural districts to the urban areas indicates that the Chinese Communists are well on their way to a nation-wide victory.

* * *

Barr's View

GENERAL David Barr, chief of the United States Military Advisory Group to China, recently told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the Chinese Communists could take over most of Nationalist China at will. In Barr's view, the Chinese Nationalist armies had disintegrated through defections in top officers' groups and had little will to resist the Communists.

He urged the United States to make certain to keep its agents in China regardless of the political situation so "information would be forthcoming, even if China went behind the Iron Curtain."

The Communists apparently were surprised by their own rapid advances, Barr said, and stopped at the Yangtze River line because they are not ready at this time to assume administrative responsibility for all China. He predicted they would expand their control when proper preparations had been made and that after some years Communist control over the entire country is likely.

In this connection, it will be interesting to recall that Barr on a former occasion had already stressed the point that from a purely military point of view the Nationalists have very little to prevent the Chinese Communists from sweeping over the whole country and that as far as he had been able to understand the Nationalists had not lost a single battle for lack of arms and equipment. The root cause, Barr said, was that the Nationalists have completely lost their will to fight as the result of poor generalship and bad treatment of soldiers.

* * *

Arms Program

IN order to give teeth to the Atlantic Pact, the State and Defense Departments of the United States are reported in the press to have prepared a US$1,800,000,000 arms program for Western Europe and other "free nations" as down payment on a long-range military program to "resist Communist aggressions."

Administration officials in Washington revealed the arms program drafted for Congressional action contains approximately US$1,200,000,000 for Western European nations signing the Atlantic Pact. The remainder of the funds would be earmarked for use in Greece, Turkey, Iran, Latin America, the Philippines and possibly other non-Communist areas.

The global arms project is now under consideration by the Budget Bureau. The legislation would cover arms aid for friendly nations between next July 1 and June 30, 1950. Present plans are to ask Congress for larger amounts for at least another three years if the East-West tension continues.

In the proposed legislation, Truman would seek wide authority to allocate funds between Atlantic Pact members and other nations whose security is vital to the United States. This would allow swift movement of military supplies in the event Russia stepped up pressure on any country scheduled to receive arms or on any other non-communist nation. One top official said security aspects of the arms program may make it mandatory that Congressional hearings be held in secret.

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WHISTLING PAST THE GRAVEYARD

Justus in *Minneapolis Star*

Pacific Pact

IN significant contrast to the agitation in the Chinese press for a Pacific Pact on the pattern of the Atlantic Pact, lukewarmness or even open opposition to such a pact was displayed in the United States and Britain. The British *New Statesman and Nation* condemned the idea of a Pacific Pact as conducive to war and an ineffective answer to Communism.

An article in the magazine said: "Is it their object to stem the tide of revolution, or is it to recognize the urgent need of great social change and seek ways and means of friendly cooperation? There is danger that what they are actually creating is nothing more than a new series of alliances among nations for the strategic encirclement of the revolutionary heartland of Asia."

On the prospects of such an alliance the article said: "The idea of a Pacific defense pact is not constructive policy, and it is no answer to the appeal of Communism. It gives only the impression of panic. If any proof were needed that military aid cannot defeat Communism it is found in the complete failure of American policy in China."

It said present concentration on a Pacific pact "only encourages the idea that war is inevitable. It is driving Communist China into the position where the Yangtze becomes a Soviet frontier. American policy is too suspicious for such a pact to be accepted by the countries of Southeast Asia."

The Review's English Lesson—LXXVI

MR. T. F. Wang writes from Fukien about a question of tense. He quotes a sentence from "Nanking College Crisis" in the March 12 issue, which reads, "After the troubled days of last spring following the May 20 demonstrations, the student self-government had been disbanded and all extra-curricular activities prohibited." He questions the word "after", suggesting "since" as better. It seems to us that the sentence is unnecessarily complicated by using a topsy-turvy order of time. Logically, since the May 20 demonstrations occurred first, they should be written first; next, the troubled days; and lastly, the prohibition and disbandment. Thus, the sentence would perhaps be clearer if written, "After the May 20 demonstrations, resulting in the troubled days of last spring, student self-government was disbanded and all extra-curricular activities prohibited." In the original sentence, the use of "had been" is incorrect, unless the sentence were to continue, "....when (something else happened)." As it stands, the prohibition and disbandment simply happened, one time only; therefore, the simple past tense of the verb is correct.

* * *

MR. A. L. Chen of Wenchow is back with us again. In addition to his questions on grammar, he wants to correspond with others interested in English literature and language. His address is 24 Chung Ching Road N., Wenchow, Chekiang. His questions follow:

Chinese John the Baptist: A pen-name or pseudonym, probably chosen because of the writer's prophetical tone.

Popeyed: A manner of looking; with protruding, bulging eyes; hence, with great surprise or amazement. Also, "goggle-eyed."

Dear: In, "Experience is a dear school (or, teacher)," the word means costly. "Dear" is frequently used in this way in England; in America, the usual expression is "expensive."

After life's fitful fever: Here, life is compared to a fitful (recurrent; coming and going; uneasy) illness; the poet was evidently not feeling too happy about life at the time.

Play ball: To cooperate, to carry out an agreement, as in, "If he refuses to play ball with the landlord interests, he'll have a tough time in office."

Revenue: Return, income; tax revenue. In, "More revenue airline miles are flown....", the meaning is that the miles flown are on freight or passenger carrying flights, e.g., those producing income for the airline.

Call the turn: To predict the future correctly; or to be in a position of authority. In "....a pretty good record, as far as calling future turns is concerned," the meaning is evidently prediction.

Implementing: This verb, "to implement", has come into vogue in officialese, meaning, simply, to do, or carry out, or make effective. "To implement a directive" means to carry out an order. In the example given, "implementing the line that the Communists are receiving.... aid," the meaning seems to be that the idea that the Communists are receiving aid is receiving support or corroboration.

Line: As used in "a bitterly anti-Communist line," it means policy.

Epic: A long, heroic poem, dealing with high and noble actions, written in an elevated style. In "the Chinese Communists consider their great epic the Long March," the adjective form might better be used, inasmuch as, so far as we know, no epic poem has actually been written on the Long March. However, the noun form is frequently used to characterize a heroic action or story in this way.

Marry: To join in wedlock; the man is said to be **married to** the woman, or vice versa. In answer to the question, "Does the man or the woman marry," the answer is, "Both," since, in order to have a marriage at all, there must be both a man and a woman participating.

On down: As used in the phrase, "from the President on down," the expression indicates all those who are of lower rank than the president; in other words, most or all of the Government members.

Bamboo curtain: Since China is said to have absorbed all would-be conquerors and invaders, it has apparently also done the same with the so-called "iron curtain" of eastern Europe, which in China is spoken of as the "bamboo curtain." Both terms designate the imposing of a blockade against the West by Communist governments.

Chip on the shoulder: One who has a chip on the shoulder is touchy, suspicious, hostile, resentful. As used in "chip-on-the-shoulder attitude," the words are hyphenated to indicate the adjective form.

Pep: In "pep talks," it means exhortations to greater efforts.

ff: As in, "pp. 13 ff.," pp. is "pages", ff. means "and following pages;" in other words, page 13 and following.

Blueprint: Originally a chemically produced print of an engineering drawing, by extension used to denote any plan or scheme, as in "the Government's peace blueprint."

Chinese Magazine Roundup

Revelation

AMERICAN designs on the island of Taiwan are alleged in the liberal *Revelation* magazine of March 19. The magazine quotes an *AP* story dated March 10 from Tokyo as saying: "American military authorities in Japan are paying close attention to current rumors that Communist elements have infiltrated into Taiwan. If Taiwan, a key link in the chain of American defense in the Far East, falls into enemy hands, America's lines of sea communication to the west would be cut while American advance air bases on Okinawa would be laid open to enemy attack. Now that Communist elements have invaded into Taiwan with the influx of important Government officials, it is the hope of American military authorities that the US will see to it that this island is always held by a nation friendly to the United States no matter how the situation on the mainland of China may change."

The magazine makes a detailed analysis of the *AP* story and comes to the conclusion that the United States is looking at Taiwan with a covetous eye.

"It can be readily seen," the magazine writes, "that the intentions of the United States Government with regard to Taiwan are thoroughly revealed through the mouth of the American military authorities in Tokyo. The *AP* story brings the following three points into prominent relief:

"As the key to America's control of the Far East and to her sea lines of communication in her westward advance, Taiwan must be put firmly under American control so that America can become the real master of the Pacific and her expansionist national policy will not be thwarted.

"It logically follows from the above that, though the influx of Communist elements into Taiwan is an internal matter for the Chinese Government to worry about, still, as this is no time to conform to legalities, 'American attention' is definitely called for in this matter. To make things even worse, 'American attention' is openly focused on the activities of 'important Government officials' in Taiwan.

"'No matter how the situation on the mainland of China may change' should of course be taken to mean that, with the exception of Taiwan, the rest of China can be put under the rule of any political system, but it is the wish of America that Taiwan should be forever controlled by a nation friendly to the United States.

"With regard to the first two points, we venture to say that the Chinese authorities in Taiwan have honestly done their best for their American friends . . .

"Take just one instance, in the control of remittances and of the entry of Chinese citizens, we do think our Taiwan authorities are less strict than the immigration authorities of Washington. To charge that Communist elements have succeeded in entering Taiwan, with the help of 'important Government officials,' is indeed bitter criticism for Taiwan authorities to swallow."

* * *

Sea Tide

IN view of the fact that the Chinese Communists have recently decided to shift the center of gravity of their party work from the rural districts to the urban areas, the *Sea Tide* weekly of March 4 carries a timely and highly informative article on the Communists' industrial policy.

According to the article, the basic objective of the Communists in this respect is to expand industrial production and to improve the living conditions of the workers.

"The reconstruction policy adopted by the Communists in liberated areas aims to develop the various industrial enterprises on the basis of requirements and capacity, and in accordance with measured steps," the article says. "Industries damaged by the war are to be restored with Government help if necessary; production power is to be increased, production costs lowered, and production increased both quantitatively and qualitatively.

"The development of industrial undertakings is to be accompanied by higher profits and higher wages so that general income levels may be raised. Re-production processes are to be promoted with the building of organic structures for the accumulation of industrial capital. At the same time, labor efficiency is to be improved and the living conditions of workers improved through the application of the principle of 'benefiting both labor and capital.' The supply of material resources from rural areas for cities, and the supply of finished products for rural areas from cities are both to be increased, and the economic ties between the two regions are to be strengthened.

"The basic objective, therefore, consists in the promotion of industrial undertakings and improving conditions of workers."

Contrary to prevailing fear about Communist hostility toward capitalists, the Chinese Reds, the magazine discloses, are enlisting the cooperation of private capital in their efforts to restore and expand industrial production.

"After VJ Day," the article says, "the liberated areas were expanded to include many middle-sized and small cities and towns, some towns and cities of larger size, and many relatively large mining districts. In these places, there was a certain amount of modern industrial activity; hence the industrial conditions in the liberated areas became an important field of activity.

"It was then felt that in order to develop various light and heavy industries on a larger scale, the cooperation of the capitalists in the liberated areas was necessary. Experience gained also indicated the practicability of encouraging private industrial undertakings. Many enterprises formerly operated by the state in the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Border Area, for instance, have either been turned over to private ownership or else have encouraged private investments. The same policy is put into practice in other liberated areas.

"Such a tendency, it will be seen, serves to promote the development of industrial capitalism. This encouragement of private industrial capital must, however, be distinguished from the oppression of national industrial capital which is practised by the feudalistic, compradore, and bureaucratic capitalists of Nationalist China."

In order to step up production, the Communists are reported by the magazine to have improved labor-management relations and technique. The article notes:

"One of the first problems receiving attention from the authorities is the improvement of organization and management as well as the improvement of production techniques. With reference to the latter, in addition to improving existing technical methods, special attention is given to the introduction of new and more effective production methods.

"The acquisition of adequate supplies of raw materials to insure continuous production, the best use of production tools, and economy in the consumption of raw materials are other factors taken into serious consideration in efforts to increase productive power."

In conclusion, the magazine declares that the industrial policy of the Chinese Communists so far has been fairly successful, saying:

"The majority of coal mines have been restored and most are operating on a normal basis. Other mining enterprises, including gold, mica and iron have also been re-opened in the various districts. Most power stations and other utility services have been restored.

"Many enterprises formerly occupied by the enemy or forced to suspend operations have been restored to their rightful owners when the democratic government established its authority. Mention may be made of the Tai Chang Flour Mill at Kan Tan; the Tsi Foong Flour Mill at Tsining; the Chang Yu Brewery at Chefoo; and the Sui Feng Flour Mill at Chefoo. All these plants were restored to their original owners, and loans were issued to them to assist in the resumption of operations."

US Magazine Roundup

New Republic

THE North Atlantic pact is analyzed by Blair Bolles, director of the Washington Bureau of the Foreign Policy Association, in an article in the February 21 *New Republic* titled "Will The Pact Save Peace?"

Mr. Bolles recalls that "the 20th Century diplomatic boneyard is littered with dead defense treaties that failed in their purpose." The present treaty, he says, was drafted on the assumption that "the show of inter-country solidarity will smother the aggressive tendencies of Soviet Russia. But the inevitable consequence of this kind of treaty-making is to provoke the other side to make treaties of its own. . . . Nobody keeps the peace by an alliance race. Alliances simply inflate suspicion."

One practical difficulty in connection with the treaty, Bolles points out, is that, although the European nations want "an absolute guarantee that America will go to war the moment any of them is attacked," no such guarantee can be provided under the American constitutional structure by which Congress alone is authorized to declare war.

But apart from this, he adds, there are a number of "deeper questions" that the pact raises: "Considering the inability of America to go to war automatically, does the prospective treaty's capacity for exciting the Soviet Union to countermeasures exceed its ability to strengthen the West to resist the Soviet Union? Can it bind us to support of reactionary colonialism which strengthen's the Soviet's appeal? Since the Dutch would surely be our colleague in the treaty, one may ask whether we would be urged to go to war to save the Dutch from the consequences of some imperialistic stupdity like their attack on the Indonesian Republic. One may ask also whether the draft articles would be fatal for the United Nations, although they are rich in references to that institution. Above all, would the treaty make the cold war a permanent feature of world politics, by creating an insuperable barrier to the eventual establishment of East-West differences?"

Turning to the relationship between the pact and the United Nations, Mr. Bolles points out that it is not clear just how the pact proposes to adjust itself to the veto power in the Security Council. "If the alliance is intended to circumvent the veto power in the Security Council," he says, "its sponsors cannot be taking seriously the requirement of the Charter that members of regional alliances clear their actions and decisions with the Security Council." Actually, he recalls, "the Charter makes the old-fashioned defense alliance futile, since, to quote State Department as of 1945, 'no enforcement action may be taken under regional arrangements without specific authorization of the Security Council.'" Therefore, he concludes, "the alliance can operate only by defining the powers of the UN to suit itself."

Mr. Bolles also points out that the United States lacks sufficient steel output to provide the amount of military equipment that the European nations want. "If America assumed an obligation to furnish every member of the alliance with arms by signing the pact, she could not live up to it," he says.

Mr. Bolles believes there are other courses the United States could take.

"The first alternate course," he says, "is to distribute weapons from America to individual countries after making agreements for the standardization of arms and after broadening the existing Anglo-American Combined Chiefs of Staff Committee to include representatives of all the arms recipients. That would strengthen our friends militarily and enable the friendly Western powers to consult continuously about military problems without formally creating an impervious bloc that would barricade future progress toward the resumption of worldwide cooperation . . .

"The second alternate course is to negotiate a pact which provides for universal membership, following the recommendation of Hamilton Fish Armstrong, editor of *Foreign Affairs*. A pact of limited membership would be in effect only an extension of the Truman Doctrine. But a wider instrument would lose the character of a political weapon aimed at some portion of the world. It would stand instead as the foundation for the system of worldwide peace enforcement which the authors of the United Nations Charter intended to create but which they have never been able to achieve."

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Far Eastern Survey

CHINESE libraries have done a remarkable job in resuming their scholarly activities since the war, according to a report by Gussie Esther Gaskill published in the March 23 issue of the *Far Eastern Survey*. Miss Gaskill is curator of the Wason Collection on China in the Cornell University Library and spent several months in China last year.

She reports that most of the larger libraries, such as the National Library of Peiping and the National Central Library in Nanking, have made a full recovery and are "ready to go ahead with all the vigor of prewar days."

"Most of the libraries," she reports, "still need Western periodicals and books published between 1937 and 1945 and even later, because a lack of funds has made it impossible to subscribe to periodicals or purchase books abroad except on a very limited scale . . .

"Most Chinese libraries need more money for practically everything—for books, for buildings, for staff, even for the minimum upkeep and heating of existing buildings."

As for the future of Chinese libraries under a possible new regime, Miss Gaskill writes: "Peiping is now under Communist control, but most of the staffs of the libraries and universities are apparently still there. In the circumstances all they could do was to continue their work and hope for the best. A *New China News Agency* dispatch of January 24, 1949, reports the taking over of Tsinghua University on January 10. A representative of the Military Control Commission for the Peiping district met next morning with the University Affairs Committee, the acting chairman of which is the well-known philosopher Fung Yu-lan, and explained the policies of the Commission as follows:

"'1. From now on, the cultural education for Tsinghua should be the realization of the new democracy, the abolition of those elements of the old educational system that are anti-masses, and the reform of those items in the old system that are alienated from the people.

"'2. The thorough reform of education is a complex affair, requiring gradual progress. The present organization, except the Kuomintang indoctrination set-up and the anti-revolutionary activities of the Kuomintang and the San Min Chu I Youth Corps, is to be categorically maintained. The hidden firearms of the Kuomintang special agents are to be confiscated by the University Affairs Committee.

"'3. University expenses will be borne by the Military Control Commission. The present ranks and remunerations of the faculty and staff members are to be maintained. Later promotions and demotions will be effected in accordance with the merits or demerits of each case.'

"In the afternoon these policies were stated and explained to a general assembly of the University. Later in the same day there was a regular faculty meeting attended by about a hundred professors, at which the representative of the Military Control Commission spoke briefly on the 'progress made in industrial, agricultural, cultural and educational fields in the liberated areas, emphasizing the high regard for science and technical research as well as the guarantee of freedom of thought and belief by the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Government.' The members of the University may have reason to hope that, for a time anyway, the situation will be at least no worse than in the past."

What Chinese Papers Say

VIOLENT protest was voiced by conservative Chinese papers against any possible change in China's foreign policy as the result of the appointment of the Chinese ambassador in Moscow as the new foreign minister. The extreme gravity of the present economic crisis was discussed and hope was expressed that the Government will do something about it before the situation slips out of control.

* * *

Foreign Policy

THE Kuomintang-controlled *Shun Pao* reasoned that there really is no need to worry about any change in the foreign policy of the Chinese Government. The reasons advanced by the paper are as follows:

"In the first place, Ambassador Fu is still considering whether he will accept the new appointment or not. And even if he accepts the post, returns to China, and takes office, it cannot be said that an Ambassador to the Soviet Union must be 'pro-Soviet.' Let us take the case of Mr. William Bullitt. He is today one of the leading anti-Soviet personages in the United States, but he was once ambassador to Moscow. Moreover, in the years Ambassador Fu has been in Moscow, it is doubtful if he had had very many personal interviews with Stalin and Molotov, and we also do not know what the Soviet authorities think of him. Therefore, even if he wants to be 'pro-Soviet,' it is not an easy thing to accomplish.

"In the second place, the existing foreign policy pursued by China must continue to be based on the basic stand of independence and sovereignty and follow the middle of the road course. On the one hand, she naturally welcomes both economic and military aid from the United States, while on the other hand, she has entered into a Treaty of Amity and Alliance with the Soviet Union for thirty years, and her relations with the Soviet Union are not less cordial than her relations with the United States. Thus if, as supposed, China is to pursue a new foreign policy by following the Moscow line, what good will it do her? This is a very serious problem, for such a wavering attitude without an established basic principle will bring grave danger to the country.

"In the third place, viewing the present international situation, the conclusion of the Atlantic Pact can only aggravate the cold war between the East and the West, though it is not expected to be transformed into a hot war immediately. As China is a big nation in the Pacific region, at the present moment when a Pacific Pact is brewing, it is all the more necessary that we must act with great care and strongly maintain our attitude of opposition to totalitarian aggression. At a time when more than 50 US Senators (more than half of the total number of Senators) signed a request for increased aid to China, it is ridiculous to say that the Chinese Government should take the Moscow line. The Ho Cabinet cannot be so foolish. And even if the Cabinet wants to act in such a manner, the people will not allow it."

The Catholic organ, *Yi Shih Pao* asked General Ho Ying-chin, the new premier, to reconsider the appointment of Fu Ping-chang as foreign minister, pointing that any change in the foreign policy of the Chinese Government is most likely to lose aid from the United States, on which China must depend if she is to become strong.

"The tendency to make a change in China's foreign policy is dangerous" the paper said. "For whatever the real motive of the Government may be, the appointment of the ambassador to Moscow as Foreign Minister must at least lead the American authorities to think that it is an indication of China's readiness to be more closely allied with the Soviet Union than with the United States. It is true that US China policy during the past three years has given us cause for dissatisfaction. Especially the inadequacy of US aid for China has dealt a heavy blow to the Government which has been placing such reliance on the aid. There is therefore no doubt that the Government is somewhat disappointed in, and dissatisfied with, the United States. But everyone knows that up to this very day we are still receiving American aid and that the United States is the only nation which may continue to give us aid. Accordingly, apart from considerations of a traditional friendship spread over decades, even from the realistic point of view alone, it is necessary that we treasure and preserve the existing friendly relations between China and the United States. If we adopt a foreign policy in which we show intended coldness for a friendly nation who has been helping us all along and express special warmth for the nation which is most guarded against by the first one, then it will only be natural that suspicions and anxiety will be aroused, and the harm which we may do may be irreparable . . .

"As a matter of fact, the problem is very simple. If the Government wants to become strong, it needs American aid. To win American aid, it must retain its established stand and show its friendship for the United States . . .

"It is not only impossible, but also impractical, for a weakened China, standing between the two strong powers of the United States and the Soviet Union, to adopt a policy of vacillation and indecision. Since the Soviet Union is remembered for many of her past wrongs inflicted on the Chinese people, and since at the moment she is fostering the Communist Party, her friendship should not be cultivated, and moreover, it cannot be cultivated. Even if China, in the pursuance of her foreign policy, cannot effectively maintain a stand of independence and sovereignty, so that she must gravitate toward one of the great powers, then it is still easy for her to see which is the right course to follow. All in all, we must say that Fu Ping-chang's appointment as Foreign Minister must be reconsidered."

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Economic Crisis

The *Shun Pao* painted an extremely gloomy picture of Chinese industry in Shanghai. According to the paper's analysis, the factors that have combined to bring about the present state of affairs are three in number: Rising costs of production, limited markets and high rates of interest.

"High production cost is the first of these reasons," the paper said. "The raw materials needed by Chinese industry are mostly dependent on foreign supplies, and as the prices for the foreign exchange clearance certificates keep on soaring, production costs have likewise been greatly raised. The rise of quotations for the exchange clearance certificates has been more rapid compared with all other commodity prices, and there seems definitely the intention of making these certificates assume the lead in the hiking of all prices . . .

"There is next the fact that finished products have only limited markets. In the present circumstances, with the exception of food and other absolute necessities of daily life, sales of all other commodities are very limited. The excessive inflation of the gold Yuan has lowered the people's purchasing power to the minimum . . .

"In the midst of the current situation of excessive interest rates, computing on the basis of a daily interest rate of six percent compounded, a one month's loan of one yuan is repayable at the total sum of about six yuan. If this rate is continuously compounded without stopping, then by the end of one year, the repayment value will be 2,100,000,000 times the original loan. The factory operator is truly in a dilemma. If, in order to meet his production costs, he refuses to sell his products at a cheap price, he cannot bear the high interests he has to pay. And on the other hand, if he is prepared to undergo a sacrifice and sell his goods cheaply, the proceeds will be insufficient for reproduction purposes. We stated sometime ago that 80 to 90 percent of Shanghai's factories may have to close down in one or two months. It now looks like one or two months was too optimistic an estimate."

What US Papers Say

VERY little optimism was expressed by American papers over the prospects of the forthcoming peace negotiations between the Chinese Government and the Communists. The Atlantic Pact, however, continued to receive fulsome editorial praise.

* * *

Peace Agreement?

THE *New York Herald Tribune* felt that forthcoming relations between Premier Ho's new cabinet and the Communists were unpredictable. The editorial said.

"Members of the new Chinese Cabinet of Premier Ho Ying-chin apparently were chosen with the idea of giving as little offense as possible to the Communists. Choices were made in the hope the new Cabinet could end the civil war in China on terms that would be more endurable than unconditional surrender. Right-wing members of the Kuomintang party, men who would prefer to fight as long as fighting was possible, were ignored in forming the new government and a diplomat believed to be on good terms with the Russians — Fu Ping-chang — was named foreign minister.

"Even with such a Cabinet in power, of course, there is no certainty that a peace agreement can be written. Communist intentions are obscure. No one seems to know whether the Reds will enter into serious negotiations or whether they wish to stall for time until they can consolidate their recent gains, reorganize their armies and attempt a crossing of the Yangtze River for a campaign in South China. For many weeks they so persistently raised obstacles to peace talks that there was doubt they had the slightest desire to negotiate. More recently there have been reports they would welcome a peace conference, but no one knows for what purpose these reports were circulated.

"Whatever happens, it should be kept in mind that Communists never seem to make a political compromise in good faith. When they agree to take part in a coalition government, the agreement endures only until the Reds are strong enough to throw their associates in coalition into concentration camps or prisons. Presumably the Chinese Communists, who so slavishly follow Moscow's lead in their propaganda, are like other Communists, such as the Reds in Eastern Europe. Their future course may even vary somewhat from Communists policies elsewhere, because of the country's unusual cultural patterns, but this variation will not produce sincere co-operation with Liberal groups. It seems safe to presume that if the Chinese Reds reach an agreement with Liberal elements in the National Government, it will be a deal made to be broken."

The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* expressed dismay at a report that 50 Senators wanted action on aid to China. It said in part: "It is a tragic fact that China has arrived at a position in which there is no hope for it until time has worked changes. It seems that, Chiang having not been able to succeed, Communism must now be given a chance to fail. Meanwhile, it will be of no earthly use to allow more American arms to pass from the inept Nationalist Army into the hands of the Communists."

* * *

Like Hitler

THE *Philadelphia Inquirer* warned that if the Atlantic Pact is not adopted, America and the rest of the West would be vulnerable to any aggressive move on the part of Russia. The paper compared Russia's actions to those of Hitler when he was rearming and forming pacts. It said:

"The State Department's 'White Paper' is a warning to Soviet leaders that it would be perilous for them to underestimate the power and determination of the Western Democracies to defend themselves in full recognition that Russia's mobilization of political and military force is a grave threat to world peace.

"The situation of Russia today is roughly comparable to that of Adolf Hitler when he was rapidly arming the German Reich and forging gigantic compacts—the axis of Germany, Italy and Japan, later supplemented by the accord with the Soviet Union.

"At that time the other countries of Europe and the United States were not arming. Their leaders pursued vain hopes that, by appeasing Hitler, he would refrain from eventually using the weapons of conquest he was preparing . . .

"There exists now, however, outside the area dominated by Soviet military might and the grim array of 'mutual assistance' treaties with satellite countries, an awareness of the dangers inherent in the Soviet preparations.

"A question for all of us is this: "Shall we refuse to take the purely defensive measures envisioned by the North Atlantic security pact and leave to Stalin and the dangerous men around him the tempting opportunity to pick off the countries of Western Europe—and America eventually—one by one?

"No amount of lying propaganda generated by the Kremlin and its Communist tools can make the Atlantic pact into the device for launching aggressive war upon Russia from this side of the iron curtain that Moscow attempts to say it is.

"The pact is not a plan for war, but one, as the White Paper constantly stresses, to make war less probable and to make just, peaceful settlements of differences between the East and the West as attractive, desirable—and wise—in Moscow as they are considered to be in Washington, London, Paris and many other world capitals."

The *Washington Star* expressed hope that Iceland would join the pact and pointed to its strategic value, saying:

"The just completed Washington visit of a high-ranking Icelandic mission headed by Foreign Minister Benediktsson heralds another prospective member of the Atlantic pact. Small and militarily weak though it is, Iceland would play an important part in the new European American defense system.

"A glance at the map of the North Atlantic reveals Iceland's high strategic importance. This island lies north of the Transatlantic 'Great Circle' which forms the main shipping route between North America and Northern Europe, while it is likewise on the air route between two continents. It's strategic importance was abundantly demonstrated during the late war. At that time, Iceland was linked to Denmark by allegiance to the common crown. The Nazi invasion of Denmark and Norway in the spring of 1940 raised the threat of a Nazi descent upon Iceland, which was entirely defenseless against invasion because it had neither an army nor navy, its population barely exceeding 100,000 . . .

"To guard against that threat, British and Canadian forces promptly occupied Iceland with the acquiescence of the local authorities. Once in possession, the British proceeded to use Icelandic ports as naval bases and laid out air fields. After our entry into the war, American technical forces took over the air fields, which were further developed and played an important part in the aerial patrol and reconnaissance system which did so much to guard shipping against the German submarine campaign.

"This wartime occupation had been coupled with specific promises that it would be terminated after the end of hostilities. Accordingly, when the Icelandic Government requested fulfillment of this pledge, our technical forces were withdrawn and the airfields came under Icelandic control. They are now used purely for commercial purposes. But their value remains.

"The Icelandic delegates, while here, made it plain that their government will not contemplate granting of base rights to any foreign power in peace time . . .

"Logic and self-interest indicate a place for Iceland in the system of Transatlantic security against aggression. Organically part of the Western Democratic world, Iceland —which is expected to announce its decision in a few days—needs protection for its independence and sovereignty, which it cannot maintain by its own slender resources."

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

Tsarist Diplomacy

RUSSIA AND EUROPE, 1789-1825. *by Andrei A. Lobanov-Rostovsky. Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1947. —XVIII, 448 pp. $6.00. Reviewed by Charles E. Perry.*

In 1933, with the publication of "Russia and Asia," Professor Lobanov-Rostovsky established himself as an authority on Russia's relations with her eastern neighbors; now, in his present book, narrower in locale and in time, he has produced an equally scholarly work on Russia's international complications in Europe during the period of the French Revolution, Napoleon and Metternich. To people who may be dismayed by the apparent suddenness of Russia's rise to recent predominance in Central and Eastern Europe, this book will help explain how her present might is merely the culmination of a grandiose dream conceived well over a century ago during the reigns of Catherine the Great, Paul and Alexander I. The first quarter of the 19th century followed nearly a century of "modernization and Westernization" under Peter the Great and Catherine the Great, and was an era when the imperial ideology of Tsarist Russia was taking final shape. More than three quarters of the volume deals with these 25 years; and the author, by unconscious inference perhaps, demonstrates just how the present Russian administration is quite logically is cashing in on the plans and schedules worked out long ago by the Tsars.

The book has very little to do with domestic Russia, except to outline such national institutions which may have influenced foreign policy as Russian Orthodoxy and the role it played in laying an idealistic basis for Russian aims in the Balkans and the Near East. Professor Lobanov-Rostovsky, in contrast to modern Soviet historians, places great emphasis on the personal characteristics, ways of thinking and educational backgrounds of the Russian rulers of the time in the belief that these autocrats were often their own chancellors and thus reflected their own personalities in their diplomacy. In this connection, the author points out that Paul was not the irresponsible madman history has pictured him; a perusal of his dispatches to Russian diplomats abroad and his instructions to military commanders in the field shows that he had an intelligent and keen grasp of foreign affairs and that he usually was well aware of the realities of any situation, despite his despotic and oft-times erratic and impulsive conduct.

The Russian army appears to have been the strongest of all the allied forces facing France between 1789 and 1815, and it was Russian military action that finally turned the balance against Napoleon. The evidence seems clear that, well officered and disciplined, the Russian made the best fighting man of the age. How Suvorov in 1799 fought his way from Northern Italy up the boulder-strewn goatpaths of St. Gotthard Pass into Switzerland, how Russian infantry in Prussia when faced with a failure of ammunition picked up stones and tore branches from trees with which to defend themselves, and how Alexander's marshals outflanked Napoleon on his disastrous retreat from Moscow in 1812—all are indicative of Russian military prowess and sagacity. The Russian soldier usually was uncertain of his reception in Western Europe and thus was arrogant, curt, sometimes downright boorish toward his allies, but he was valued for his ability to win battles. The climax of Russian military prestige came in 1814 when Alexander rode at the head of the allied armies into conquered Paris.

Present Russian pressure on the Balkans and on Turkey is better understood as a result of the author's analysis of the century-old idealistic and realistic aims in this region, such as the protection of fellow Orthodox Christians in the Balkans, economic outlets on the Black Sea, and the military and naval control of the Straits. As early as the time of Catherine we find a "Greek Project" which called for the destruction of the Ottoman Empire and the reetsablishment of a Greek Christian state at Constantinople under Russian protection. So enthusiastic was Catherine for the plan that she named one of her grandsons Constantine as an initial step in grooming him for this new throne.

Thoroughly documented, "Russia and Europe, 1789-1825" is primarily intended as a college textbook on Russian diplomacy, but it may be read profitably by anyone interested in European or diplomatic history. At the end of the volume five pages of finely printed bibliography—including the standard histories, diplomatic dispatches, orders to military commanders, diaries and memoirs—attest to the thorough research done by the author and provide suggestions for further study by the serious student of Russian history.

Negro Problem

HARLEM STORY, *by John Hewlett. N.Y. Prentice-Hall, 1948. 242 pages. U.S.$2.50. Reviewed by F.M. Roberts.*

"Information as an artistic device," says Guerard in his book on world literature, "is a powerful but dangerous instrument. The slightest excess repels." This dictum might well be recalled as one reads the novel "Harlem Story."

In recent years there have been a series of novels dealing with the problems of negroes in the United States. Certainly no theme better supplies the conflicts which provide material for plot and character. There have been novels such as Richard Wright's "Native Son" written by negroes about negroes in unhappy relations with all group society; novels in which the negro has a tragic relationship with white citizens, such as Lillian Smith's "Strange Fruit;" novels in which the negro is supreme as a comedy element—Octavius Roy Cohen. Then there is Sinclair Lewis's "Kingsblood Royal," in which a "white" man "returns" to his negro blood. In the novel now under review, we have two white negroes who have "passed" into the white race. The theme of the white negro is not new. Cid Ricketts Sumner's book, "Quality," on this theme has achieved the current immortality of publication in the Bantam series.

"Harlem Story," however, is a new experience. Here are two white negroes who have "passed"—and each keeps from the other the knowledge of his background and race. The action of the story is given in a flash-back in the brief minutes before the nurse brings Flutie's newborn baby from the hospital nursery into the room for her first sight.

So much of the novel is pure melodrama that often the sheer horror of it fails to reach its mark. The two Harlem houses of prostitution—or their prototypes—may exist. The story of them in a novel becomes almost the use of art for information's sake. In this case one would prefer the detailed information in a documented study of negro problems such as that presented in the work of Dr. Gunnar Myrdal.

There is a variety of characters in this novel. The contrast of the slick city negroes and the visiting negro from the deep south who cannot shake off his inhibitions is a secondary pattern in the story.

There is no solution to the question which the novel poses. In every such situation the solution must be individual, as all tragedy must be individually borne. The author, John Hewett, has written two other novels dealing with racial issues. These are set in Georgia where it is taken for granted that old customs and deep rooted prejudice abound. This novel, set in the "freedom" of New York City, has a more complex pattern which heightens the central story of Flutie and Jim, who have "passed."

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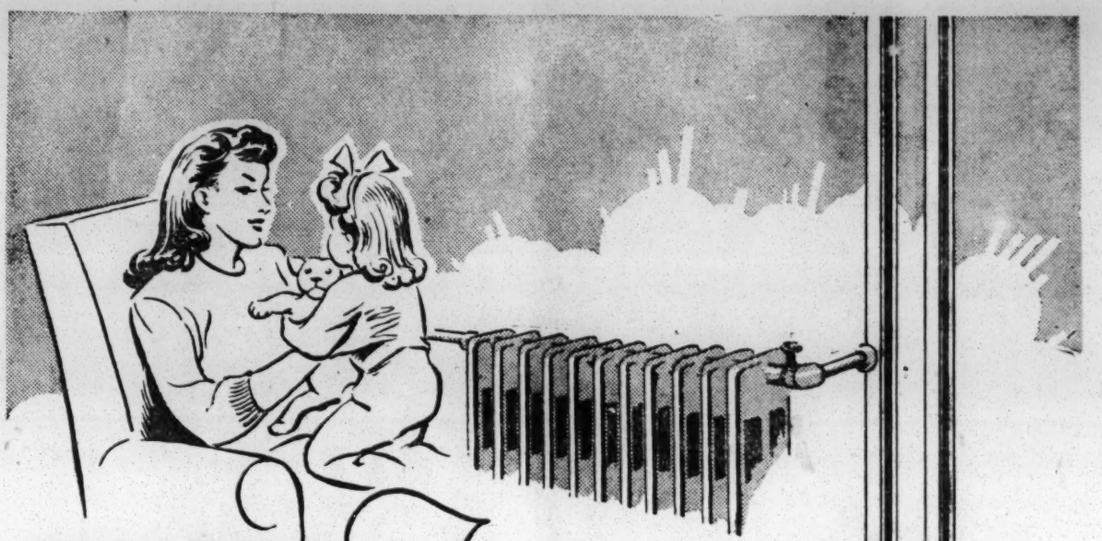

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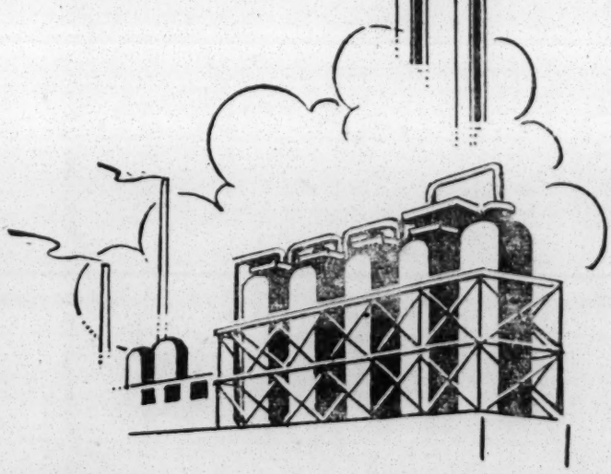

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